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ABSTRACT

Reconceptualizing the secondary school principal's role in relation to school-community involvements, this paper is the result of a three-part study. That study included a survey sample of school principals, a series of site conferences, and a seminar sharing data and plans from which the manuscript was prepared. The first chapter discusses the principal's mode of action and includes guides for enhancing school-community involvement. The struggles for control by advocacy groups are chronicled in the second chapter, with shared ownership of the schools emerging as a viable form of operation. In the third chapter a model is presented providing a typology with which the principal can relate linkage mechanisms to type of community influence. The vulnerability of the principal, power strategies, pressure groups, reading the community, and principal authority are discussed in the fourth chapter. The fifth chapter defines community involvement, teacher autonomy, principal support for teacher autonomy, teacher receptiveness to community, and functional equivalency. Presenting concepts to guide principal practices, the sixth chapter delineates the specifics of the principal's job. In the final chapter a discussion of principals' dilemmas, myths concerning school-community relations, role choices, strategy choices, and planning is reviewed. (MD)

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School Community Involvement: New Realities for Schools and Their Principals

Lloyd E. McCleary, University of Utah, Editor

EA 016 560

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INTRODUCTION AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Secondary school principals have need of an adequate methodology for community involvement if they are to exercise effective leadership. Education in a democracy cannot be restricted to the use of specialized skills, the treatment of conditions in factual terms, and the application of theoretical disciplines in the management of schools. The bureauctatization of schools and the professionalization of teachers and administrators have, in many ways, isolated schools from their communities. The fragmentation of moral-social perspectives within society finds the schools without the involvement mechanisms necessary for the clarification of perspectives that are required for effective action. Now, when it has become recognized that community involvement is needed for a school's vitality, even survival, the principal is faced with role expectations which have not been examined so that they can be shared fruitfully.

Community/school interactions, and the role of the principal with respect to them, comprise social phenomena which are assumed to be the same from one school setting to another. These phenomena possess elements, form, regularities, and problems. Their study and the building of theoretical conceptualizations from them are necessary to any fundamental changes in practice. We have attempted to do this with the participation of groups of effective, articulate secondary school principals. This volume represents an effort to reconceptualize the role of the secondary school principal as it relates to school community involvement.

The study was carried out in three phases. First, a survey was made of a national sample of secondary school principals drawn from the lists of "effective" principals as identified in the NASSP's National High School

Principal Study. This survey provided descriptions of practice, information about the activities of principals, and the perceptions principals held of problems and issues. Second, a series of "site" conferences was held with small groups of principals. These conferences were conducted under the direction of one or two cooperating professors at five universities and at the NASSP national headquarters. Conference participants were provided with the results of the survey, position papers, and materials from literature searches. Principals discussed problems and issues related to community involvement, provided examples of unique practices--both successes and failures, wrote "critical incidents," and assisted in analysis and interpretation of findings. Third, a seminar of cooperating professors and project staff was held during the NASSP's national convention, in which all the data of the project were shared and plans were made for the concluding work of which the preparation of this manuscript was a part.

The project staff and cooperating professors are indebted to the Rockefeller Family Fund of New York for the financial assistance provided and specifically to Peter Martorella of the Fund who gave assistance and encouragement to the project. The cooperation of the NASSP was crucial in the selection of principals, the site conference held at Reston, the seminar and a clinical workshop held during their national convention, and for the publication and distribution of this monograph. Scott Thomson, Executive Director of NASSP gave invaluable assistance at each stage of the project and participated in the Reston site conference and the seminar. The Graduate School of Education, University of Utah, provided space and equipment, research assistant time, and some funds to support completion of the project. The universities associated with the project are listed with the cooperating

professors' names in the Table of Contents. The Utah State Education Agency provided their computer for data analysis, and Richard Keene of the Agency gave unstintingly of his time in assisting with that work. George Wanaski, research associate, Betsy Frank, research assistant, and Georgia Airsman, secretary, were part of the project staff who carried major responsibilities in all phases of the work. Finally, everyone associated with the conduct of the project is indebted to the principals who gave of their time, knowledge, and enthusiastic participation that we might share and hopefully contribute to their efforts on behalf of the nation's schools.

Chapter 1: PERSPECTIVES OF COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

An informed body of professional opinion exists which advocates that community involvement and citizen participation receive primary emphasis at the individual school level. The reasoning behind this position is compelling. Schools need parent and non-parent citizens, community agencies and institutions involved in its programs in a variety of ways for a variety of reasons. Likewise, the community has a concern for its schools because of its responsibilities for their financial support and for their governance, but its concern goes much deeper than this. The total community is made better or worse by the quality of its schools and by the nature of the relationships maintained.

A substantial literature deals with the involvement of citizens in educational affairs. Surprisingly, there is little which attends to community involvement at the school level. Investigations, even the exhortative literature, tend to focus upon district policy making, legal implications, school board relationships and related political theory. In the NASSP's National High School Principal Study (1978) and in the survey phase of the study upon which this monograph is based, principals reported little formal training that relates to this important area. Only a small percentage of principals had taken courses in public relations, politics of education, or in communications per se. In the NASSP study, the area of school community involvement was not well defined by principals. They revealed considerable ambivalence about their role regarding it, and they identified a number of discrepancies between needed community involvement and current practice.

To return to the point that community involvement receive primary study and emphasis at the individual school level, the ultimate test of a school system is not in district budgets, curriculum guides, personnel policies, and the like; but rather in what happens in the relationships of students, teachers, parents, citizens, community agencies and the administration at the school level. The best single source of information about these relationships, activities, problems and organization of them is the principal. He is the best informed about goals, plans, activities, problems and organization of school community relationships. For this reason the focus of this volume is upon the role of the secondary school principal in community-school involvement.

A New Ball Game

Over and over in our site conferences, principals referred to community involvement as a "new ball game." As much of a cliché as it is, it seems to characterize the present state of affairs. A round of conflict involving changing social values, expressed by differing life styles and living patterns, clashes of political and economic ideologies and competing priorities and expectations for the future has created impacts upon schools. These conflicts often take the form of dramatic confrontations and legal actions. Principals are forced to respond with crisis management actions. Problems surface and take on dimensions that are unique almost school by school, community by community. Responses have to be specific, idiosyncratic actions since former practices and modes of dealing with community relationships have proven inadequate.

Under these conditions principals feel isolated and largely on their own. Shared experiences with colleagues, assistance of professional associations and the universities, although supportive, seem remote and of little

immediate, practical use. Teacher association demands and prescribed activities, such as mandated citizen councils, bring additional work and time pressures. At the initiation of the study one principal told us, "It is as though a major battle has just been fought, but the war is to go on." The time had arrived to capture the inventiveness of the more effective principals, make an assessment of problems and the effects of actions taken, and provide a formulation of concepts and strategies for a long campaign.

The need for a new conceptualization of community involvement, especially for the secondary school principal, is brought about by the convergence upon the schools of two separate movements. The first of these is the shift in secondary schools from a selective, educational institution to a comprehensive, youth serving institution. Although the concept of the secondary school as a youth serving institution has been evolving for several decades, the attitudes of many citizens and professionals are not supportive of it, or are resistant to many of its implications. However, in the middle school the incidence of violence and crime, alcohol and drug abuse and other youth problems appears in significant proportions. Continuing into the high schools are added and compounded the problems of the non-academically oriented, the "opt out" and the in-school dropout, the unwed mothers, and the needs for alternatives for immediate job training, placement, and counseling. The loss of close parent contact and the need for citizen involvement and community agency support all appear. Under these conditions, the programs and services required to ameliorate youth problems receive a mixed reaction.

The second movement converging upon the secondary schools is the increasing demand for responsiveness which is affecting all public institutions. The problem is no longer one of distributing abundant resources but of setting priorities and allocating scarce resources. Schools, particularly secondary

schools, will be viewed more critically as competition for limited funds accelerates. The general climate within which schools must operate can be expected to become increasingly skeptical, if not hostile. Schools must demonstrate effectiveness and frugality. There are now fewer adults in immediate contact with schools (from 64 percent of all households in 1960 to 37 percent in 1978). This changed climate of expectations occurs as traditional links with the home and the community are being reduced, giving a new urgency to the problems of community involvement.

Community Involvement: Reciprocal Relationship

The concept of community is a troublesome one in the abstract--one social scientist found and examined ninety-four definitions of community (Hillary, 1955). However, to the secondary principals the concept of community was defined in concrete operational terms by the existing and needed relationships which created bonds between the school and those who had interests in it. Principals could easily identify individuals, groups, and agencies who had such relationships and those who should have them. Further, principals could characterize them in many ways: frequency of contacts, extent of influence, content of specific interests and/or demands, emotional feelings and the intensity of these, as well as other characteristics. Thus, specific contacts over time revealed patterns, and the characteristics of these patterns reflected the climate of school community involvement with which the principal worked.

Linkages through individuals are the bonds which relate the school and its community. Each needs the other because neither can optimally satisfy needs and interests alone. Even the special interest group, which often uses a relationship with the school as a platform, depends upon the school (principal) to allow this process and the ways it is to occur. In the case

of the special interest group the parameters of interdependence became particularly clear. These parameters are: distribution of power--equal to unequal; quality of relationship--cooperative, conciliatory, resistant, hostile, or punitive; and motivation--what is sought for in the relationship In cases of this kind effective principals tended to establish as much as possible a climate 1) of cooperation, 2) equal power distribution, and 3) an outcome that was mutually satisfying to both parties. The point is that the principal needs to know what the school community linkages are, through which individuals, with what interests and preferences, and how that relationship might become of mutual benefit. Giles in Chapter 3 treats the subject of school community linkages in more detail.

Community Relations Distinct from Community Involvement

Community involvement, as used here, is the total network of specific linkages which exist between the school and its community. These linkages represent relationships between the school and the community. Community relations, on the other hand, refers to anything that occurs in the school or the community that influences the way in which individuals perceive the school. For example, after years of "good" community relations an investigative reporter for a local newspaper wrote a series of articles on teen-age sex. The stories used interviews with high school students mingled with national sex study data and descriptions of events reported elsewhere as illustrations of the kinds of things that would be occurring in the local high school. Years of positive reports about the school and the conduct of its students were suddenly clouded by these articles. However, the linkages created by active community involvement brought about a responsiveness that did much to place the reports in their proper perspective.

The distinction between community involvement and community relations can be made through this illustration. Community relations refers to all communications which establish the school's image and which condition individuals to be disposed to believe how things really are. Such presumptions often become the basis of judgments and opinions about the school and its programs. Community involvement, on the other hand, refers to actual events and actions which establish relationships out of which first-hand judgments can be formed.

Communications and Community Involvement

Community involvement can be conceptualized as a network of interpersonal communications. Each individual who has contact with the school represents a communication channel into the total community. In this light students represent the largest set of communication channels. What has been occurring is that the communication channels upon which principals rely have been dramatically reduced and altered. In the case of students the direct channels into households have been cut almost in half in twenty years. The single parent homes and the number of working women have reduced the number of direct communication channels even more. Further, there has been an alteration of communication channels from ones that could be relied upon to carry positive messages to ones that are predisposed to carry negative ones or none at all. Although the extent and effects of this reduction are not measurable, they are well recognized.

One characteristic of the changes in communications reported by principals in our study was the transition from one-way to two-way flow of messages. Principals indicated that in the past they had organized communication channels primarily to inform parents and citizens of school policies and problems or to enhance PR and generate a positive image of the school.

Now they have become sensitive to the fact that "people aren't listening because they want to tell us (their concerns) and we haven't been listening either." Another principal responded paraphrasing the famous Kennedy line, "Yes, I'm communicating more, but enjoying it less."

Community involvement brings about two-way communications. The effective school principals recognize this, and they expressed the belief that principals generally were not making optimal use of two-way communication channels to learn about community opinions and expectations. One principal pointed out that communications implies shared meaning and that the terms community and communication both derive from the Latin communitas meaning that which is common or shared. In Chapter 2, Erlandson examines the nature of involvement as shared ownership and some of the problems of introducing shared ownership as the basis of genuine involvement.

Modes of Action of the Principal

In the site conferences principals discussed ways of dealing with community involvement as it relates to their role. Survey data provided additional information and detail when those data were re-examined in light of conference discussions. Principals participated frequently in five types of planned community involvement: 1) in-place councils, committees, and organizations, both school sponsored and community based; 2) school activities bringing citizens into the school or student groups into the community; 3) one-way and two-way communications such as bulletins, newsletters, surveys, neighborhood meetings, home visits, etc.; 4) PR-type speeches, service club and church memberships, etc.; and 5) community service activities in "drives" and projects. In addition to representing the school and "being visible," principals consciously sought informal, person-to-person contacts. Thus, a variety of avenues were available through which linkages could be

established and maintained. Each serves as a medium that is in-place and available to the principal. Effective principals were able to assess which ones were useful for what purposes, who was being reached, and who was not.

Of particular interest was what principals reported about their orientation to their role in relation to community involvement. Effective principals clearly had their own agendas for the improvement of their schools. They developed plans and modified them in terms of exchanges of views with various constituencies--community, faculty, students, and central office. Three generalized approaches emerged from discussions, "critical incidents" (see Chapter 6 by Peterson), and descriptions of practice.

When a problem or incident occurs, principals first seek to deal with it through established procedures. Should routine handling of the problem prove unworkable, the principal 1) determines a strategy, 2) takes steps to implement the strategy, 3) monitors results, and 4) takes further action and/or modifies the strategy. These four steps we came to label as: Strategy, Logical Operations, Assessment, and Replanning. Some problems require this almost purely reactive mode.

When the principal identifies a need or condition requiring attention he/she follows the same steps but in a proactive mode. That is, information is obtained and individuals and groups are involved to confirm the need, examine the proposed strategy(s), and participate in the remaining steps. A third mode, frequently used by principals, and which we labeled interactive, is to seize upon a problem or incident in order to meet a need or condition, sometimes even instigating the precipitating incident. Those principals who seek to operate in a proactive mode tend to react to problems in the interactive mode. For example, one principal reported waiting for a parent complaint to the school board about language instruction to introduce a plan for

a faculty/minority-parent study. This resulted in curriculum revisions, installation of a language lab, volunteer tutors, and the printing of school materials in several languages, most of which the principal had already seen as desirable.

The three modes are shown in the diagram. Strategy refers to a pattern of acts that serves to attain certain outcomes and to guard against others among a set of general objectives. Logical operations are the forms which administrative behavior takes to fulfill a strategy. Assessment is the monitoring activities which provide information about the effectiveness of the steps taken and which may lead to initiation of additional administrative actions, alteration or cessation of actions, or replanning of strategy.

Modes of Administrative Action

Proactive mode:	Need or Condition	→ Strategy	→ Logical Operations	→ Assessment	→ Replanning or Conclusion
Interactive mode:					
Reactive mode:	Problem	→ Strategy	→ Logical Operations	→ Assessment	→ Replanning or Conclusion

Effective principals could describe the modes they employed in situations, understood the phase in which they were involved and what actions were necessary on their part to move to a satisfactory result.

The Exercise of Practical Intelligence

Principals provided insights into a phenomenon which they tended to label the "art of the possible" or the "practical politics of administration." These insights were useful in several ways for analysis and explanation so

that we refer to them as the application of practical intelligence and attempt to present them here in a coherent fashion.

Values and belief systems, which people apply to judge conditions and reach decisions, form perspectives or points of view with which the principal must deal. Education is caught up in the struggles of individuals and groups who wish to shape it in terms of their particular perspectives. When a community is stable and free of disagreement, the basic values and beliefs systems are largely taken for granted and rarely called into question; the community can judge and react from a common perspective. However, when conflicts occur, and it becomes clear that there are no common perspectives about resolving a given conflict, the more basic values are questioned.

Conflicts were reported over such educational matters as school boundary changes, library books, open campus, band trips, fees for laboratory materials, timing and quantity of homework, sex education, independent study courses, teacher effectiveness, too many activities, athletics for girls, and a host of other topics. In cases of disagreement one of four conditions always was present: 1) a common perspective existed and there was no difference of opinion about the condition, 2) a common perspective did exist but the immediate condition was confused and highly controversial, 3) competing perspectives existed, but some grounds were apparent upon which a common perspective could be found, and 4) competing perspectives existed and no common grounds were apparent upon which to build a common perspective. As principals attempted to respond according to the modes of administrative action described in the previous section, it was necessary for them to understand the perspectives of the parties who needed to be involved.

Failure to recognize differences in perspectives about problems and conditions and the omission of those Persons having real concerns account in large

part for opposition to particular courses of action, for breakdowns in deliberation, and for the need to resort to coercion or maneuver to establish a course of action. The effective principals recognized that the strategies and logical operations in any course of action they needed to initiate depended upon correctly identifying the nature of the perspectives of those involved. Where common perspectives were lacking, principals tended to delay, where possible, until they could clarify perspectives and engage in "consensus building." A number of cases of failure of actions taken were attributed to lack of attention to this phenomenon.

The most difficulty encountered in the administration of a school stems from confusion and conflict in faculty and community perspectives. It is not the realm of technical knowledge and skills or the obtaining of the facts of a situation that prove to be troublesome to the principal. It is in the areas of human judgments and mutual agreements that cooperative actions break down. The "subjective aspects" of situations which are not examined and resolved in the processes of deliberation and judgment lead to unanticipated consequences such as opposition, withdrawal of support, or general negativism to the school and to the administrator himself.

The exercise of practical intelligence does not mean that the "facts" of a situation can be neglected but that the primary contribution the principal can make is to build shared perspectives so that participants can proceed from a common orientation. The resolution of the issues which surround schools is so tied to the lack of common perspectives that the exercise of practical intelligence by the principal becomes a central element in his role in community involvement. Husen in Chapter 4 deals with the community power figures and the pressure groups with which the principal must achieve working relationships, and Licata in Chapter 5 treats the problem of faculty autonomy as it affects the principal's role.

Concluding Statement

The conceptualizations presented in this chapter and in the remainder of this volume are based upon the experiences and insights of effective principals. As these conceptualizations were taking shape certain underlying assumptions, perhaps more accurately convictions, became apparent. Although they may not be shared en toto by all the principals, they certainly represent the point of view of most who were involved in the study. For this reason we attempt to state them explicitly here.

The crisis in legitimacy and the basis of traditional authority derive in large part from feelings of helplessness and lack of control over institutions. Adaptability and responsiveness of institutions lies at the local level, in the case of education, with individual schools. Furthermore, adaptability and responsiveness depends upon genuine community involvement and the capability of the school principal to lead in the development of common perspectives about educational issues and problems. This kind of leadership has a political rather than a technical base and derives from the quality of communications generated by involvement.

People change more rapidly to the requirements of new conditions than do institutions, and schools can very well become dinosaur institutions unless principals develop the skills and insights to relate to their communities. This does not imply that some principals are not doing an adequate job of community involvement. Also it does not mean that schools, and principals, surrender their integrity and professional responsibilities, but it does mean that principals generally need to develop new forms of involvement and engage in new ways of sharing.

Finally, there is no handbook to accomplish this task, and there are dangers to merely "opening up" the school without serious thought about the

reasons for and possible consequences of any steps taken. However, there are guides to successful practice contained here which principals can employ to enhance community school involvement and engage school and community in constructive development.

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Chapter 2: SHIFTING PATTERNS OF COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

Societal changes of the past two decades have not left schools untouched. Advocacy groups, among others, recognize schools as having a major influence over values and over avenues to improved status. Thus, struggles for control occur as groups seek to shape schools and schooling to their interests. The school principal faces the problem of how professional and lay control can be accommodated.

Diminished Professional Control

By their nature emergent social forces represent challenges to the professional administrator's dominance in running the schools. Wirt and Kirst have examined these forces in some depth and reach the conclusion that despite the clamor of these forces for a portion of the control of the schools, it is highly unlikely that the professional control will be altered in the end (Wirt and Kirst, 1975). Without taking complete exception to the Wirt and Kirst conclusion, the view presented here is that while professionals may continue to control the public schools, the nature of what they control is shifting significantly. While they may maintain dominance over formal decisions within the school system, unless a more significant segment of society is given a voice in controlling the public schools, the schools themselves will exert less and less of an influence on what is occurring in the rest of society.

Frustrated parents, advocacy groups, and other citizens can soothe their frustration over unpleasant school decisions by "voting with their dollars or their feet." This euphemism has become commonplace to describe situations in which individuals turn against their school. These alienated individuals assist to defeat school referenda and contribute to proliferation of private

schools. One scenario of the future frequently raised by principals in our site conferences, projects a dual school system: private schools for the middle class and public schools for the poor and handicapped.

Advocacy groups of parents and other citizens are not necessarily representative of the more dangerous of forces upon the schools. Passive parents and citizens may represent a more troublesome condition as the family becomes less stable and less critical to the fulfillment of aspirations of adults. An increasing number of parents are eager to have the schools take over the task of parenting. In the National High School Principal Study (1978), 79 percent of the principals responding indicated parents apathetic or irresponsible about their own children created major problems--they rated it in fourth place in a list of 18 problems.

As treated in Chapter 1, mobility of the population and the expanded technical effectiveness of mass communication bring into contact those with differing social norms and life styles. This results either in conflict or in self-imposed isolation which impedes the integration of society and the development of "community" in its fullest sense. Schools are becoming less able to fulfill a supplementary role in an integrated, mutually supportive society. Yet if they are to continue to function, schools must provide the integration that society lacks.

To accomplish this integration it is imperative that schools obtain or develop the aggressive support and involvement of parents and community. The high school principal is in a unique position to enhance the development of community based support systems for the schools. This is true because the principal has available an array of communication links with parents, students, teachers, superintendent, school board, and community which is not available to anyone else in the school community. The effective principals recognized the potential of their communication roles. They were able to describe divergent groups, communication modes needed to involve them, issues

which required a school/community dialogue, and possibilities of reaching understandings that would permit constructive action. The insights of these principals formed the basis of a model presented in the final chapter of this monograph.

Emerging Public Relations

Due to the disintegration of community support and challenges to professional control, administrators have resorted to various techniques for convincing the public that they should support the schools. Public information positions have become commonplace in school districts. The function of these positions is to enhance the professionals' capability to "tell the school story." Public relations techniques have become the subject of textbooks, journal articles, professional societies, conferences, and university courses. "Madison Avenue" tactics have become increasingly common in projecting the school image through brochures, newsletters, and radio and television spots. In many instances, a mastery of public relations techniques in education equals the best efforts of the private sector.

Even as school professionals are becoming more expert in their use of public relations techniques, the public is becoming more immune to them. The bombardment of messages from commercial interests (through television, billboards, newspapers, magazines, and the mail) may not have produced more discriminating consumers, but it has produced a public that is less sensitive to appeals for voluntary support, no matter how logical or cleverly devised those appeals may be. When schools choose to "sell" their educational programs through techniques that have been designed to produce sensory responses rather than logical thought, they inevitably surrender much of the claim to logic or moral necessity that they may have had. This is not meant to rule out the need for the continued use of public relations in schools or to diminish the

need for "telling the school story." Modern public relations techniques are clearly needed in many cases to enable schools to compete for public attention. However, such techniques do not constitute a solution to the problem of gaining essential community support, and may disrupt efforts to build common community perspectives.

The Case for Shared Ownership

With the diminution of effectiveness of the public relations approach and the realization of the need for schools to play a role in societal integration, attention is directed to the dynamic of school community relationships. These relationships are interpreted and understood in terms of the nature of the involvement practiced. Some principals view community involvement as little more than a device for keeping parents and community occupied with innocuous school-oriented activities in order that they do not interfere with the operation of the school program. The real control of the schools is retained in their own hands. Other principals view involvement as interaction with parents and community so that the school story can be told and the school program explained. The former pattern is becoming increasingly risky in a heterogeneous, advocacy-oriented society. The latter pattern may be valuable, even appropriate at times; but, as indicated earlier, it has limited applications.

The case for community involvement must ultimately rest upon the fact that the school and the community need each other for their mutual welfare. This fact suggests that public relations focus not so much on selling the schools than upon developing common interests between school and community. Thus, what is sought is the basis for mutually beneficial partnerships in the operation of a school.

Schools need the financial and moral support of the community, but they also need information that only parents and other community members can furnish. Schools need to know that the community's aspirations are for their schools, and where these are not articulated, they need to assist the community in specifying them. They need to know about the personal characteristics of their students, information which in many cases can best be supplied by parents. Particularly as individualized educational programs come into wider use, the schools will have increasing needs to obtain vital information from parents. They will need to work closely with parents to enable them to see the potential of their own expanded roles and to recognize what these expanded roles mean for their children, themselves, and society.

The case for community involvement in public schools in contemporary society does not rest upon the claims of advocacy groups or upon the more esoteric principles of common human rights or dignity, whatever merit any of these might have. Shared ownership in the school program between school professional, parents, and the total community is imperative because without it the schools simply will not be able to fulfill their duty of educating society's youth.

The Persistence of Professional Control

Something survives within most principals and other school administrators that continues to seek professional dominance. Old patterns continue to persist. Nor, as evidenced by comments at our site conferences, were the effective principals in our sample totally immune from it.

One of the principals at a site conference noted:

> The principal must control community involvement. It's all right for the community to be involved, but the principal must make the decisions.

Another principal described what could almost be considered a case of clinical control (i.e., one in which the professional is in control of time, space, diagnosis, and prescription):

> Parent conferences are held in the principal's office--to get over to parents the point that they are responsible.

Still another principal at a site conference mentioned that in his school the principal is the vice-president of the Parent Advisory Group "so that he doesn't lose control."

Why do these tendencies to maintain professional control continue to exist? Partially it relates to a belief among principals and other school administrators that the effective administrators are those who clearly define their goals and accomplish them with the minimum number of setbacks. To a degree this notion has been fostered by society's romanticized image of the leader and also, in some measure, by the principal's profession and by training institutions as well. (Erlandson, 1976)

But the research of Argyris and Schön (1974) has demonstrated that such an approach, if carried to its logical conclusion, denies ownership to anyone else and limits the degree of anyone else's commitment to the goals of the organization. Principals must come to accept that schools don't belong to them but that teachers, parents, and students have a vital stake in the outcomes of education and need to have at least as much ownership in the process as the principal.

However, it needs to be pointed out that the principal is not the only one who wishes to keep control in the administrator's hands. Boards of Education and teachers often share this motivation. School boards desire administrator control because they see the administrator as the executive of their policy. Teacher organizations are often threatened by apparent diffusion of power to

the community, who they believe will make decisions inimical to their professional interests. Evidence of both conditions was noted by the principals at the site conferences.

One of the participants reflected on his board's view of community involvement:

> The board views community involvement as a threat. Board members appear to be receptive to the community but tell the principal to ignore them. The principal is in the middle.

Regarding teacher attitudes toward community involvement, one principal stated:

> The staff collectively want to do away with PTSO; they don't want parents in the school.

Another principal noted:

> The teachers want the principal to have control.

Regarding the stance of teacher organizations toward community involvement, a principal made this comment:

> Unions will attempt to negotiate contracts that will prevent attempts to get citizens into the classroom.

The Place of Public Relations

Probably the majority of principals meeting the standard of "effective," as described by NASSP, have recognized the political importance of the community and have accepted the need to get the community "on their side." Most of the statements made during the site conference sessions and the critical incident descriptions provided by the participants clearly recognized the need for public relations. A small sample of these statements are reproduced below:

> At yearly budget time, a soft sell on education is needed. Thank the community for their support and tell about new things in the school. Go to service clubs to talk about education in general.

> The principal needs to project an image he can defend.
>
> The successful principal is tuned to the importance of PR.
>
> Try to get senior citizens to come into the school and help. Reward them with tickets to games. It might help the tax increase.
>
> Good neighbor parties are held for houses that border the school. We give them a calendar of school events so they know what is happening. When they know about school activities in advance, they aren't irritated by them.
>
> Try to be pro-active. Get to the community first, through the Advisory Council, PTA, booster clubs, the clergy, and influentials. These groups can defuse problems.
>
> We need to send items to the newspaper to publicize the merits of the school.
>
> There is a need to better educate people about the schools' financial problems, especially when a majority of families don't have kids in school.
>
> Having a good band and orchestra pays off, even if the school is doing a bad job in calculus. It gets support.

Nevertheless, public relations is not the real solution. As noted earlier, "selling" the school via traditional dissemination techniques is likely to have diminishing effectiveness. Parents and other community members are less and less likely to make productive commitments to a process that they feel is owned exclusively by the school establishment.

Emerging Patterns of Shared Ownership

There was definite evidence among the principals at the site conferences that shared ownership with the community is emerging as a viable mode of operation for the effective principal. However, shared ownership, in its fullest sense, does not occur easily. It seems to be a fundamental principle of modern organizations that everyone believes in the meaningful delegation of authority--down to him or herself. Administrators at all levels complain

that their superiors do not seek their input enough and, as a result, these superiors develop objectives and procedures that are irrelevant to needs at the operating level. At the same time subordinates of these administrators usually have the identical complaint about them.

This "them against us" phenomenon is regularly observed in school organizations. Principals complain that the central office is too far removed from instruction and consequently requests information and prescribes procedures that are inappropriate in terms of the real needs of the students. The teachers often have the same complaint about the principal. A similar situation occurs when the principal attempts to initiate shared ownership with the community. Principals understandably tend to be afraid that such shared ownership will diminish the impact of their own roles or that if ownership of the school operation is truly shared, it will get out of control, with disastrous results.

Principals who attended the site conferences are not exceptions to the general rule. Most of them are at least a little uneasy about bringing the community fully into the operation of the school. Yet, there were clear indications at the site conferences that many of these effective principals are moving significantly in this direction.

One of the principals attending a site conference stated the basic case for shared ownership with the community in these terms:

> We feared shared governance at first but wanted the community to feel it had part-ownership of the schools. As time went on, we found many people would not give of their time on an advisory basis only, because "what I have to say doesn't matter." The superintendent and the board must accept the concept of shared governance.

Or as another principal at the same site conference added:

> I don't feel we lose power or direction.

Another principal, at another site, noted:

> Setting goals jointly between parents and professional gets commitment.

One principal explicated the role of his advisory group:

> It is the responsibility of the advisory committee to evaluate the school and to develop plans with teachers, administrators, and the community.

An example of evolving community ownership in a high school in Houston was referenced at one of the site conferences. A parent contact program for checking on absentees was recently initiated in that high school and its two feeder junior high schools by community personnel. The program has been so successful in raising attendance that the community personnel have begun to focus on the underlying reasons for truancy. This has brought this volunteer program into direct contact with the instructional program. The community volunteers are eager to expand in this direction. The principal welcomes it.

Future Patterns

Increasingly, principals will be required to share ownership in the operation of the schools with their own staffs, with parents, and with the community. They will need to do so not only because it is politically sound but because all these groups have legitimate and necessary inputs into the governance of the school. Administrator control, based upon the status of the principal's position, will shift to a control based upon professional expertise. Such a stance can stand on its own merit, is open to examination, and is sufficiently comprehensive. This form of control can be strengthened by the feedback and legitimate modification supplied by other persons sharing in the ownership. Public relations techniques will shift from a focus on selling the school to an emphasis on utilizing information so that the quality and relevance of the educational product can be examined more openly.

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Chapter 3: SCHOOL COMMUNITY LINKAGES: FOCAL POINT OF PRINCIPAL INFLUENCE

The concept of linkage agent is particularly applicable to the high school principal. Linkages are those regular, stable patterns of contact between units within an organization and between organizations, as carried out through individuals. Some linkages are formally established and made the responsibility of those occupying certain positions, others occur informally due to inter-personal contacts. Linkages take on characteristics of their own in terms of frequency, content, numbers of individuals involved, and the affective climate created in the process. They make "available the conceptual, technical, human and material resources required for improving individual and institutional performance." (Lipham, 1977, p. 118) They provide the basis for cooperative action and the negotiation of differences (Hines and McCleary, 1980). The principal occupies a position which is defined by certain prescribed linkage agent responsibilities within the school and the district and also within the community. More importantly, the exercise of effective leadership requires detailed knowledge of existing linkages, their characteristics and effects, and the ability to employ them, even alter or create new ones as needed to enhance education.

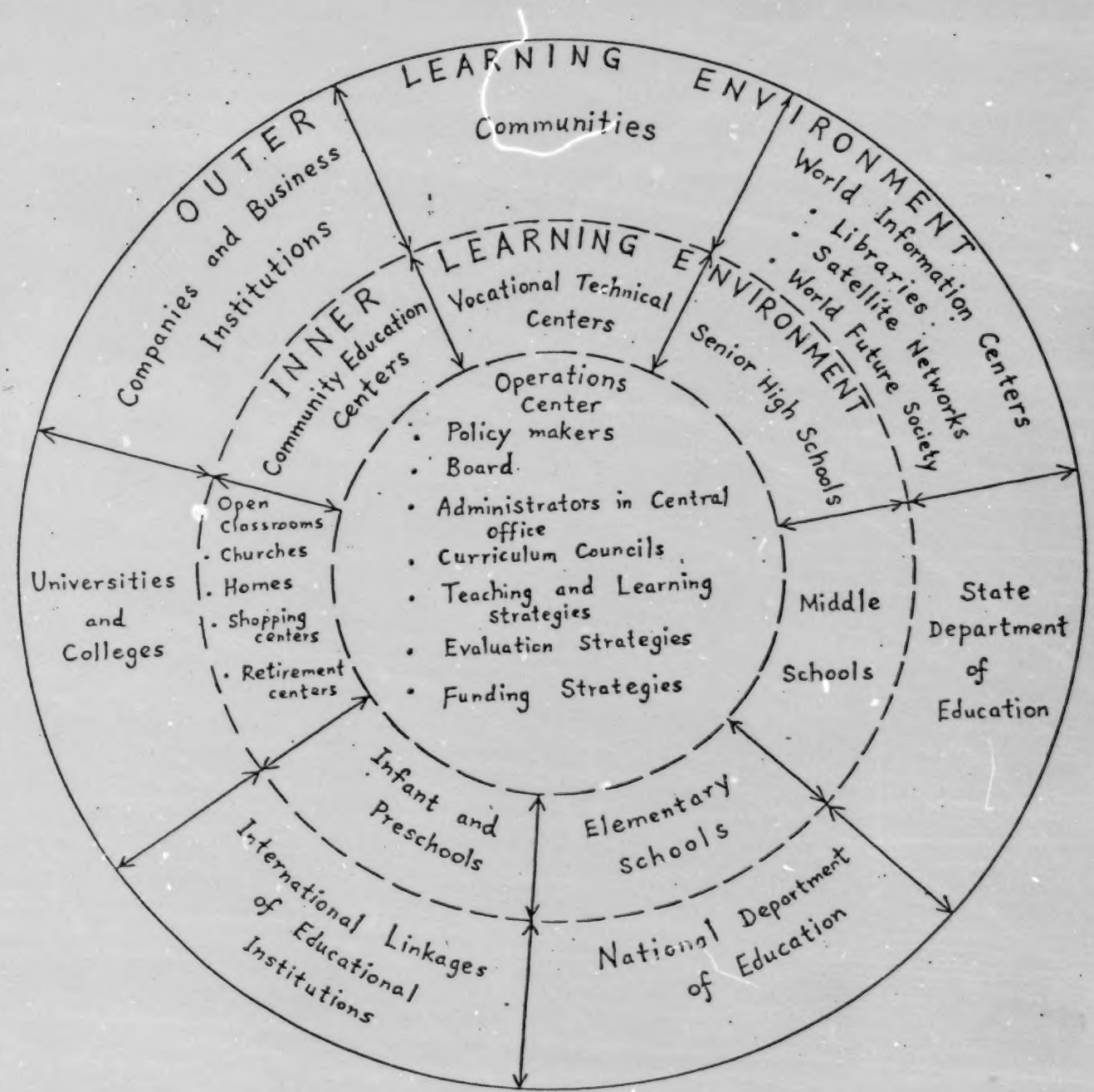
In this chapter a model is offered which identifies school community linkages and provides a typology with which the principal can relate linkage mechanisms to type of community influence. The model is particularly useful in explaining approaches used by effective principals who were involved in the project which is the basis of this report. Observations made by these principals as they dealt with forces and strategies leading to community involving are given to illustrate the model and linkage concepts.

School System Linkages

Traditionally, public schools in the United States have relied upon substantial community support as a matter of course. A considerable monetary investment in public education is an indicator of strong underlying commitment to educational values and to confidence in the system. There is now sufficient evidence to believe that an almost unquestioned support, a need which will continue to grow, requires closer attention to school community relationships. Roe Johns, for example, predicts that a continued competitive demand for resources among all government agencies will increase conflict between school boards and teacher unions. According to Johns, the conflict will become increasingly political, resulting in overt attempts by each group to sway public opinion to support their vested interests. Johns predicts that the public will believe the charges by both organizations, which will result in decreasing public credibility of school systems. (Johns, 1980)

Governance of a school system is often considered in relatively simplistic terms. This phenomenon can be observed in the public's attempts to simplify the issues involved in clarifying the purposes of schooling as in the back-to-basics movement, attacks on sex education, censoring of books, and the like. By and large, school administrators are not sensitive to the extent to which forces surrounding and interacting with the school affect school activities and the administrator's responsibilities. Forces influence, and often control, the decision-making strategies of the school administrator through complex and interacting linkages. A model that illustrates the diversity and extent of linkages between the school and society is illustrated in Figure 1. (Hoyle, 1980)

Figure 1: LEARNING ENVIRONMENT - SCHOOL DISTRICT IN THE 21ST CENTURY



The model, developed by John Hoyle, illustrates the relationship between the schools, central office, and various sectors of society that interact with the schools. Hoyle divides the school environment into two main parts which he refers to as the outer learning environment and the inner learning environment. Double-ended arrows are used to indicate communication linkages between and among the parts of the two environments. Hoyle believes that interactions are multi-faceted, inter-related, and multi-influential. Linkages between and surrounding the schools are real and highly influential. They have the potential to drastically affect the future well-being and survival of public education. To date many school districts have limited or not permitted public input to policy formation. Consequently, schools have been accused of being unable to function effectively in a political environment. In such an environment adverse publicity erodes public confidence and ultimately the support for schools. Educators cannot afford to underestimate the public desire for involvement or fail to use involvement for the welfare of education.

An individual school situation can be examined using Hoyle's model since the model identifies the publics and the linkages available to it. A secondary school has a defined outer learning environment and an even more easily defined inner learning environment. The linkages, which are shown in the model, encompass the total environment outside of the school, including other schools, community agencies, families, universities, etc. There are many linkages between the inner and outer environment. In order to manage the school effectively, it is necessary that the principal identify most, if not all, of the linkages between a school's environments. A primary purpose of the model is to show that linkages need to be utilized in ways that will result in an interactive support mechanism between the outer and inner learning environments.

Management of linkages is a skill that effective secondary principals have acquired in a rather idiosyncratic fashion. Effective principals have been shown to operate in ways that give credence to the "balance theory" of public relations management. Balance theory recognizes differing strengths of inner and outer environmental linkages and provides a mechanism for administrative decision making which can utilize linkages most effectively. (Litwak, 1974) Interactive linkages may be strong in one environment and weak in another or they may be of similar strength. For example, the "common messenger" (see Table 1) linkage between an elementary school in a suburban environment may be very close, while the same linkage in an urban setting may be not close at all. Interactive linkages may be cooperative and strong at one point in time and competitive and strong at another.

The following example reported by one principal provides evidence of the fragile, sometimes fickle nature of linkages. "A formerly friendly PTA group, dissatisfied with the school's grading policy, aired their views on the subject at an open meeting which included the superintendent and central office personnel but not the principal. To date, the matter is unresolved." Effective principals are sensitive to the varying influences of the linkages and pursue administrative decision making in ways that result in support or at least in non-opposition.

A Typology of School Environmental Linkages

The relationships of the linkages between the inner and outer environment of a secondary school, and the characteristic type of influence which usually results, is shown in Table 1. It is based upon a closed-to-open relationship between the inner and outer environment. (Cook, 1978)

Table 1: TYPOLOGY OF LINKAGES AND INFLUENCES IN A SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

Steps of increasing interaction		Type of linkage mechanism	Types of influence
CLOSED ENVIRONMENTS	1	OPEN ENVIRONMENTS formal authority	manipulative
	2	delegated function	theraputive
	3	mass media	informative
	4	common messenger	consultive
	5	opinion leader	placative
	6	voluntary association	relative shared decision
	7	detached worker	relative delegated decisions
	8	settlement house	community directive

The typology in Table 1 lists the linkage/influence interactions on a continuum which suggests that there are eight different mechanisms available to a secondary principal in his management of community support for his school. According to balance theory, "both intimate and distant school/community relationships must be balanced in different degrees according to circumstances in order to optimize educational objectives." For example, a principal, recognizing the need to protect his teachers from community influence, might at times elect to invoke his formal authority. As reported in one critical incident from the study, "Upon the recommendation of their advisor, a number of students were suspended for altering the printer's copy of the student newspaper. Although it was done as a prank, the action allegedly had racial overtones and consequently serious implications. Angry

students and parents appealed the suspension which was upheld by the principal."

Similar incidents were reported by principals in which athletic booster clubs applied pressures on the principal, board, or superintendent to fire coaches who were performing their duties well but were not winning. In terms of a different condition the principal may recognize the need to deal with a drug-related culture in his school and choose the settlement house as a way to utilize the community most effectively in the management of his school's problem. In the first case the principal strives towards a closed linkage and in the second case towards an open linkage.

Use of the Typology by Principals

School principals utilize most of the linkage mechanisms described in the typology in the management of their schools. Successful principals use linkage mechanisms in ways that increase public support. Our study of the principal's role in citizen involvement compiled considerable evidence to support the typology presented here. One part of the data describes the kind of linkage interactions initiated by principals as related to time. To illustrate the time continuum, one principal commented, "The cycle of involvement may be tied to a time factor: the first and second year the community likes you; the third year, the honeymoon is over." Another portion of the data contains statements by principals who participated in the site conferences. These statements reveal efforts principals make in utilizing school/community linkages. Some of the remarks below are a part of these data. They are illustrative of different types of linkages:

> Principals are relying heavily on organizations to be pioneers--NASSP, PDK, etc.

We are not sure what we are doing, but we will be doing more. Our district has identified 250 key people to bring them in on issues--may do this on an individual school level on a smaller scale.

Identify power structures--read newspapers for names that are prominent--there are really only a few people who call the shots.

Rockwell International came to the board and wanted to start machine shop. The board asked for a survey to see if it was needed--now we have it.

A principal gets invitations to speak at civic groups--opportunity to share problems and activities with these people.

Little League and the recreation department use our school facilities. Through such activities we build a good base for contacts with our community. Openness of the school, day and night, year-round is important--having adult night programs and summer school facilitates this. Key is openness of the campus.

We are looking for a director of business so that we can let people know we exist and want jobs.

Chamber of Commerce meets at our school--members visit classrooms...Rotary comes every Wednesday...Literary Ladies meet at the school. Community feels the school is open, community feelings are sensed through informal communication.

(Some problem) occasionally brings 5-10 NAACP officials to school. We invite them to the office, lay out situations, ask their advice. You must involve them or you have a problem.

Principal has to be political--feel pulse of community.

Where do we place emphasis on community involvement and do we reach people who don't have children in school?

City government and schools need to work together to survive.

An additional portion of the data describes the successful utilization of linkages by principals in their management of crisis situations in their schools. Table 2 lists the linkage/influence mechanisms from the typology and shows the percent of principals reported to have used the mechanism in each of the three sections just described.

Table 2: ASSIGNMENT OF PRINCIPAL INITIATED CONTACTS ACCORDING TO LINKAGE-INFLUENCE TYPOLOGY

Linkage/Influence	Percent of contacts initiated by principals	Percent of principal contacts verbally stated	Percent of principal contact written as crisis
Formal Authority manipulative	15%	20%	16%
Delegated Function theraputive	33%	12%	18%
Mass Media informative	12%	24%	8%
Common Messenger consultative	13%	12%	16%
Opinion Leader placative	20%	4%	13%
Voluntary Association relative shared decision	4%	16%	27%
Detached Worker relative delegated decision	3%	12%	2%
Settlement House community directive	0*	0*	0*
Total	100	100	100

*Questions on the questionnaire did not seek data in these categories.

The data generated by the study demonstrate that effective principals utilize the mechanisms listed in the typology when they initiate interactions with their publics. Also, the data indicate a trend toward the use of the linkage mechanisms which serve to break down barriers between inner and outer environments of the school. The data depict the actions of principals who are recognized as effective in their responses to their publics. These data can provide principals with a tool to analyze their use of school community linkage.

Apparently publics expect decisive action on the part of principals. They expect to be somewhat passive recipients of decision effects, and yet they demand that they be informed about decisions. The following comments made by successful principals clearly reveal these dilemmas.

> In a sense I have had a feeling [about citizen involvement in school governance] from the community of "why don't you go away?" But that is just not going to happen.
>
> Some groups say, "You know what we want--go ahead and act. If we don't like it, we'll come to you!"
>
> Do we see some backing off on the part of people in wanting to run the schools?
>
> I have tried to set up advisory committees, but the people are too busy. They say, "...if you need something..."
>
> Some parents rebel against overkill in involvement. We need sensitivity to the sort of involvement wanted and needed.

Data collected in the study further indicate that effective principals tend to keep their publics informed, in many different ways, about decisions and actions.

Responses from principals reinforced the idea that "We [principals] need to let people know what we are doing."

> Most members of the community have only a shallow knowledge of the school's problems. Yet most members want this information.

> It's sort of a damned-if-you-do, damned-if-you-don't--you'd better have a number of reliable channels to get information out, but you have to consult too.
>
> In my community I'm trusted enough to make some decisions on my own, particularly when people are told the circumstances, but the explanations are important.

Use of the Typology

Recent polls, hearings, and studies by national groups such as NASSP, NCCE (National Committee for Citizens in Education), and NSBA (National School Board Association) provide some disturbing findings. These include: citizens generally do not know much about their schools and report a vague uneasiness about them versus past predispositions to view schools in a positive light; there is little communication between representatives, such as members of school boards and citizens councils, with those they represent; and there is substantial alienation due to lack of genuine involvement in planning directions of development and review of programs. These findings lend support to the need for principals to examine the management of their schools' learning environments with an eye toward school-community linkages between inner and outer environments. It will fall to principals primarily to manage linkage boundaries in ways that tend to open the system.

To recommend that the system be open does not necessarily imply that the principal include all publics in as many school matters as he can. Patterns of citizen participation vary according to the location of an issue on a sphere of action continuum ranging from particular programs to comprehensive policy planning, and a continuum representing the number of participants to be involved ranging from a few selected citizens to the general public. Ideally the principal makes choices of "whom to involve in what issues" so that there is adequate representation without confusion because of numbers. For example, a local special-purpose council was used to conduct a need

assessment for a bilingual program. The composition of the council included a manageable number of citizens representing ethnic, social, and economic strata as well as those most likely to be affected by the program. Effective principals seem cognizant of the principle that these variables (number and type of participants and sphere of action) are contributing factors to the success or failure of efforts in participation. Concerns about representativeness, size, and function of councils were expressed repeatedly throughout the site conferences. Comments illustrate these insights:

> Special interest groups are a problem in community involvement.
>
> The more you get into special interest groups, and the more you communicate with them, the more they become a can of worms.
>
> Set up the process and make it as well known as possible; then stick to it.
>
> To whom are all these special interest groups accountable? They appear to be self-serving.
>
> Define community. Is it loudness or reality? Just how can you identify the whole community?
>
> How can we reach those people who don't have children in school?
>
> Minorities don't appear to be represented in community activities.
>
> Sometimes I take an issue to key people rather than to the entire community as a way to neutralize hostilities.

According to the project principals, consequences to the school of electing to develop linkages of any particular type should be determined at as early a point as possible. They were insistent that merely to develop linkages for the sake of having them usually created new problems, often generating expectations that cannot be satisfied. They advise that initial and secondary effects to the school and to the community be examined before pursuing interventions in school matters through linking mechanisms. The

idea that the community could be appraised further in terms of sectors and bases of influence resulted in the use of the community sector model presented in the next section of this chapter.

Community Sectors and Bases of Influence

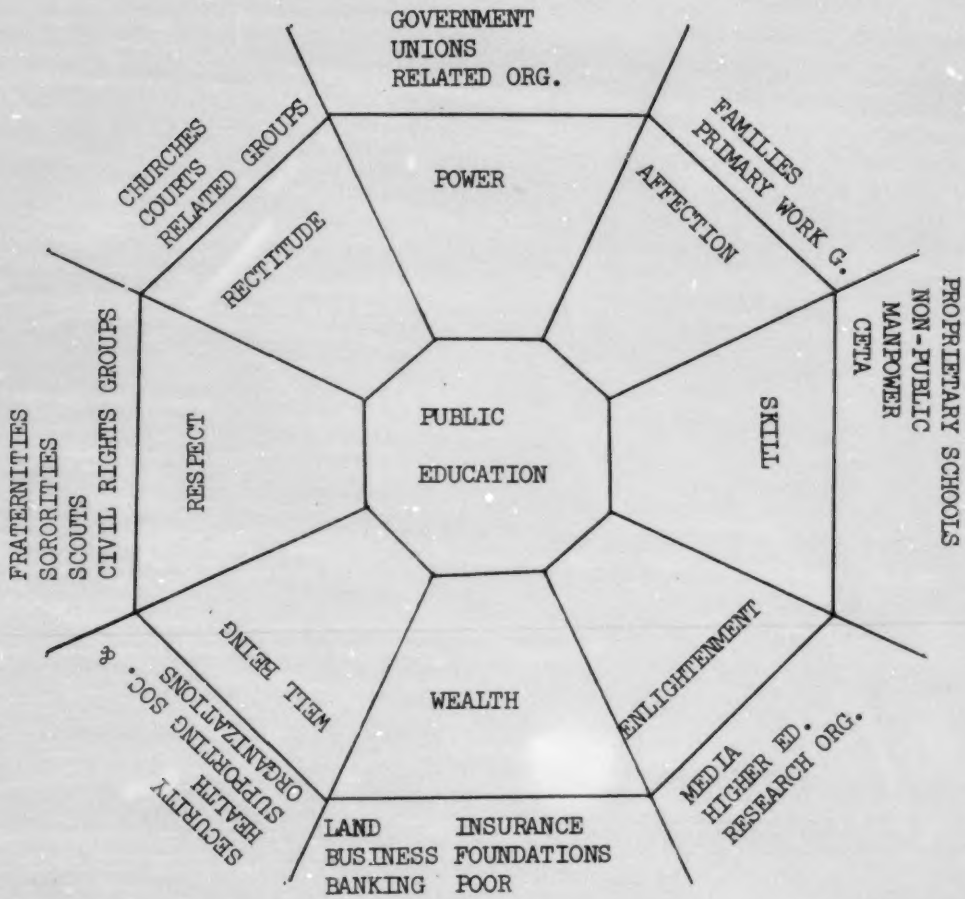
In addition to the treatment of linkages presented thus far, the conception of the community composed of sectors organized in terms of bases of influence offers a means to analyze linkage needs. Realizing that individuals participate in their community largely through a variety of interest groups leads to the conception of community sectors organized by groups which foster and represent values. Each school problem, issue, or condition which impacts a value for which a particular sector of a community has primary interest holds potential for linkage mechanisms.

Using public education as the focus, the model (Figure 2) shows eight basic values which become the primary, base value to influence of certain types of community groups. Relative to any problem, issue, or condition in education one or more of these values are affected. For example, a new vocational center would involve the base values of skill, wealth, well-being, and affection. It might also involve respect if minority groups became affected, and power if unions or government became involved. The appeal to these groups would be in terms of protecting or enhancing the primary value which a particular sector espouses for their members.

The model is particularly useful in identifying sectors of the community which have an interest in public education, groups that function in a particular sector, and the primary value which is basic to their influence over attitudes and opinions. Linkages to the various sectors become important when any part of the school or its program is undergoing change or is being challenged. This is so because any change or challenge to education is seen

as affecting some value basic to community welfare as interpreted by groups claiming to represent a sector of the community. Every sector of a community has a stake in education in terms of the base value of that sector, and the school can benefit if linkages exist and function in mutually supportive ways. It is critical that the principal be alert to consequences and implications of either strengthening or weakening the relationship between the school and sectors of the community.

Figure 2: SECTORS OF A COMMUNITY AND BASES OF INFLUENCE RELATIVE TO PUBLIC EDUCATION



Adopted by Vern Cunningham from Lasswell and Kaplan, Power and Society, Yale University Press, 1950.

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Chapter 4: POLITICS, POWER AND PRESSURE

The effective principals that participated in the study and site conferences were all cognizant of the political role of the principal in the operation of schools. They were knowledgeable about the political implications and consequences of involving citizens in policy making and decision making. In their attempts to read the community power structure and its influence on the operation of the schools these principals provide useful insights concerning the principal's role. This chapter treats these insights and ways to conceptualize about five topics: the vulnerability of the principal, strategies of dealing with power figures, pressure groups, reading the community, and the authority of the principal.

Vulnerability of the Principal

Based on data collected through the survey instrument and the site conferences, principals are vulnerable to pressures exerted from within the formal organization of the school and school district, and also from the community at large. Their vulnerability appears to be a function of the lack of adequate role definition, the nature of the position of principal within the formal structure of the educational organization, and the often conflicting expectations of significant reference groups. The following statements made by principals during the site conferences provide insight into the problems of role definition and role clarification:

> By nature we are generalists; we can't be responsible for all areas. But we must let others know what we are doing and demonstrate that the administrative staff is helpful. The role is not difficult to describe, but difficult to organize. The danger is in how we are perceived.

> What is the responsibility of the building principal for creating an atmosphere in the community? There is a danger of simply reacting to concerns presented to you rather than telling what the school is doing. You and your staff have to stand for something.

> How to delegate work and protect time? There is only so much time--some people will deal only with the principal--must decide what you will do.
>
> The principal needs control of his time--needs to project an image he can defend--must deal with the power structure for support.
>
> Mandates from government, etc., influence the time factor, i.e. immunization programs, federal requirements, legal restraints.
>
> Problem of what district perceives principal's role should be, i.e. be all things to all people?
>
> We must re-educate boards and superintendents on what the role of the principal should be (not just plant manager!).
>
> Principal has to be political--feel pulse of community. The successful principal is attuned to the importance of PR.
>
> We must define what the teachers are accountable for and what parents are accountable for. Teachers are not prepared for a direct role with parents--so we must provide positive encounters and encouragement.

As can be seen from the above statements, principals see themselves as the heads of their schools and responsible for what goes on there. They also see themselves as being under pressure and overworked as they attempt to function as the center of communication, facilitator, coordinator, politician, protector of teachers, and promoter of the school's program.

The principal is particularly vulnerable because of the nature of his position within the formal structure of the educational organization. There are at least three levels in all educational organizations--technical, managerial, and institutional (Parsons, 1958). The technical level is the professional sub-system of the school and is composed primarily of teachers. Its focus is on the organization and the carrying out of tasks to achieve the organization's goals. There is the presumption of rationality of structure and predictability of performance.

In schools teachers believe that, as the experts in education, they have the knowledge and the right to organize and operate the educational program of the school. Therefore, any input from the outside is perceived as a threat or an imposition. This view is supported by principals' responses to the survey questionnaire item: "Although teachers generally give rhetorical support for citizen participation, they feel threatened by it." Of the principals responding to the item, seventy-seven percent either strongly agreed or agreed to the statement. Only thirteen percent disagreed.

The managerial level is composed of what we normally call the "administration." The managerial level includes both top management--the superintendent and other district-level administrators and middle management--the principal and other building-level administrators. The managerial level has ~~four~~ five major tasks: to interact and mediate with the institutional level in order to procure the necessary resources to legitimatize the school and provide it with the necessary support (i.e., financial, personnel, facilities, etc.); to interpret the goals and programs determined at the institutional level to the technical level; to organize and administer the technical level in such a way as to carry out the goals and programs determined by the institutional level to the technical level; to organize and administer the technical level in such a way as to carry out the goals and programs determined by the institutional level; and to defend the technical level against attacks from the institutional level in order to create stability for the organization. The superintendent and his staff have the responsibility for these tasks at the district level while the principal and his staff have these responsibilities at the building level. Thus, the managerial level has the responsibility for both the communications between the technical and institutional levels, but also the structuring and administration of the organization itself.

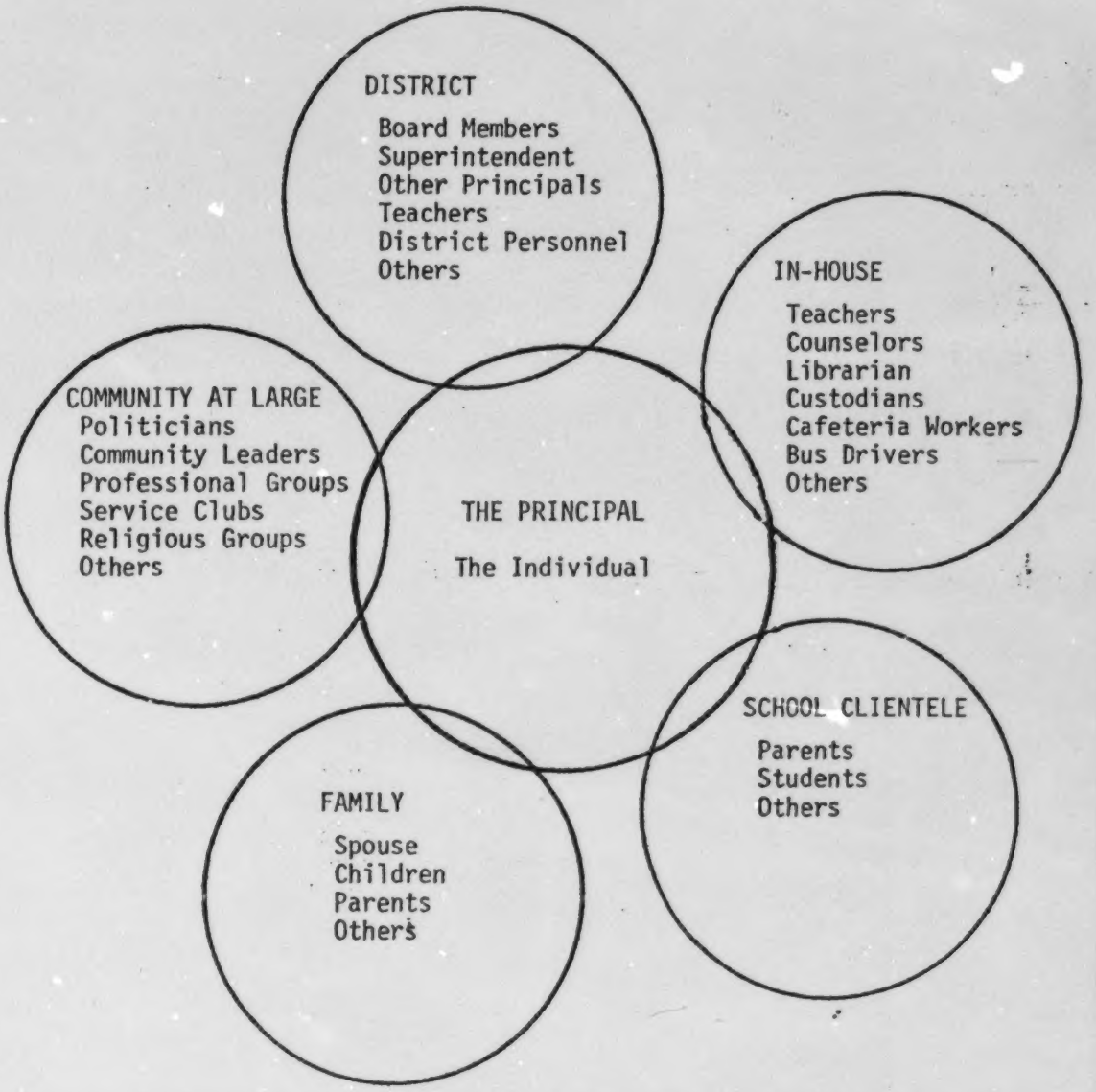
The school, with its technical and managerial sub-systems, is also a part of a larger system referred to as the institutional level. This broader social system which determines the goals of the school and provides it with support is composed of all of those state and local government agencies, community pressure groups, social agencies, the school board, etc., which participate in the policy making and decision making relative to the organization and operation of the schools. In exchange for its legitimization and support, the institutional level makes demands upon the school's managerial and technical sub-systems. It is the task of the school board to work with all these other agencies in identifying goals, clarifying values etc., and communicating these to the managerial and technical sub-systems.

Given this view of the organizational structure of schools, community involvement in policy making and decision making is a necessary and legitimate part of the operation of schools. The task of the principal in working with and for community involvement must be seen as a major and natural part of his role. The principal is the director and organizer for change at the building level based on the directives from the superintendent, board of education, school clients, and the community at large. His task is to translate the desires of the community (institutional level) into programmatic terms. This task increases the principal's vulnerability because he/she is often asked to respond to conflicting expectations and demands. The following figure portrays graphically the various groups and individuals with which the principal must work.

FIGURE 1

The problem of dealing with the definition of the principal's role and the principal's feeling of frustration, pressure, lack of time, etc., may be a function of thinking in terms of discrete specific tasks rather than

Figure 1: SOURCES OF ROLE EXPECTATIONS WHICH DEFINE THE PRINCIPAL'S ROLE



broad conceptual domains. Anyone presented with a job description which includes long lists of specific tasks must feel inadequate and frustrated in attempts to accomplish them all in a manner which the individual feels represents best performance.

A healthier approach is to look at the principalship in terms of three major roles: a manager, whose task is to develop management systems in the area of community relations, educational program, finance, personnel, etc.; a leader, whose task is to analyze, coordinate, and facilitate the operation and program of the school; and a human relations specialist whose task is to act as a mediator who manages conflict, develops social cohesions, and insures open communications.

Strategies of Dealing with Power Figures

Power is the ability to make or influence decisions or to make something happen. For example, a principal has the power to suspend a student, create a community advisory group, or influence the decision of a faculty curriculum committee, etc. There is both formal and informal power. Formal power is based on the position that one holds. It may be either traditional or legalistic in nature. Traditional power is power that, over time, has been ascribed to the particular position. Legalistic power is power that comes from a legally constituted source. A principal's traditional power, for example, comes from the job description of that position within a given school district. It is a function of the formal role within the organization structure. A principal's legalistic power is a function of regulations, statutes, and court decisions.

An individual's informal power is based within the individual rather than the position. An individual's informal power may be a function of the individual's relationships within the informal structure of a group or organization, personal expertise or knowledge, or personal charisma and human relations skills.

Power or influence may be brought to bear on a principal through either the formal structure of the school system or through informal channels. The

individual bringing the pressure to bear uses either his formal position within an organization or pressure group or his own personal power and influence as his power base. It is necessary also to consider whether power is real, potential, or imagined. An individual who can and does make a decision that influences the course of action can be said to have real power. An individual who has the power to make a decision or to influence action, but does not always do so, has potential or discretionary power. Where others ascribe to the individual power which the individual does not actually have is an example of imagined power.

Effective principals in this study were quite aware of power, power groups, and power individuals; and principals were proactive in their attempts to identify and read those power figures, their bases of power, and the strength of their power. They used several techniques for identifying power leaders. Principals reported the following list is typical of approaches:

1. Identification of both formal and informal power figures within the school system and within their schools.
2. Identification of both formal and informal power figures within the local community and the school zone.
3. Use of reputational techniques, issue analysis, and participant analysis to identify the power figures.
4. Courting of local business people and attending meetings of local service clubs and social organizations.
5. Courting local and state political figures and attempting to develop personal working relationships.
6. Having new pressure groups formally identify one or two spokespersons, thereby creating a more efficient way for the group to present their position and for the principal to respond to them.
7. Requesting individuals or groups with complaints or requests to put them in writing, thereby helping to clarify issues but also acquiring names and addresses of the individuals making the complaint.

8. Inviting people to visit the school to attend a conference, a meeting, or to observe a particular program, thereby establishing a personal relationship and communications.

9. Meeting with representatives of local religious organizations.

10. Reading local newspapers and, in particular, the neighborhood shopping papers and watching local television news programs focusing on political, economic, and social news.

The strategies used by these principals in dealing with power figures were quite similar even though they varied greatly in detail, depending upon the type of community or school with which they worked. Their strategies may be classified as follows: 1) respond, 2) ignore, 3) co-opt or redirect, and 4) change, diffuse, or neutralize.

Respond. As one principal put it: "Priority must be recognized--do for the superintendent first--you're in trouble if you set your own priorities." Another principal stated his situation as follows: "One telephone call from one board member sets things in motion." The principals recognize those people with real power and respond to them. Where the power is expressed through the formal organization coming from the superintendent's office or the board of education, the state department of education, the United States Department of Education, state and federal courts, the principal often has little choice and must respond. Many of the complaints expressed by the principal during the site conferences was in the tremendous increase in recent years in the centralization of decision making and the mandating of programs and actions with little regard for the impact on the local schools.

Principals also respond to informal power if they perceive it to be real and legitimate. In particular, they will respond to this power if they perceive that there will be positive consequences for their school.

Ignore. The principals may ignore a power figure if they perceive the power figure has no real power or is not likely to exert his/her power in the

given situation. The principals may also temporarily ignore a power figure if there is another power figure who is exerting greater influence at the particular moment. The principal may also choose to ignore the individual who is perceived to be a "constant thorn." Finally, this strategy includes the view of some principals that "If I ignore the problem, it will go away." One principal stated it as follows: "A problem doesn't exist until it reaches my office."

Co-opt or Redirect. In these cases principals recognize the power of the power figures and try to harnass it or redirect it as a positive force for the school. The principals recognize that most of the "pressure groups" which are interested in the operation of the school are basically supportive of the school and its programs, but are interested in promoting some specific program or change which they perceive as an improvement. These people are invited into the school for conferences or meetings. They are urged to visit or observe what occurs in the school. They are asked to help develop or implement programs, and finally they are given the opportunity to serve as members of committees or task forces. The attempt by the principals is to take people who are basically interested and supportive of the schools and redirect their energy and support in the direction that the school people feel is productive and worthwhile.

Change, Diffuse, or Neutralize. When principals perceive that power figures are negative or non-supportive of the school's program, they attempt to change the power figures' views, diffuse their power or neutralize it. Based on the data of this study, principals attempt to do this through developing personal relationships designed to educate or re-educate power figures. The attempt is to involve them with the school's program in a positive and productive way.

In those situations in which the principal perceives that he is not likely to effect direct change, he may work to establish another power leader or group which can, in turn, neutralize the original individual or individuals. Some principals use this technique when dealing with their own school board. They develop local community support or their local PTA to put pressure on the board of education to achieve something for the school which the principal could not achieve by staying within the system. While this technique may be effective, it cannot be used often without incurring counter actions, sometimes punitive ones.

In summary, effective principals try to find productive solutions and positive ways of dealing with power figures. They establish different structures depending upon the nature of the pressure brought to bear. In the case of long-term pressure situations (e.g. those involving value questions) principals tend to use strategies which will establish communications, manage conflict, and promote solutions. The establishment of conferences, rap sessions, task forces, etc., are examples of the structures used. In those situations where the principals perceive short-term pressure, such as pressure from the band, with the support of the band boosters club, to attend a regional band contest, the principals use strategies with little or no community involvement and rapidly establish a management system for handling the problem.

Pressure Groups

What is a pressure group? Is it parents who object to a particular book being in the library? The band boosters wanting to sell candy to raise money for a band trip? The local teachers' union threatening to strike if they don't get higher salaries? A group of minority students threatening to

boycott the cafeteria? A mother threatening to sue because the school doesn't have a girls' basketball team? Pressure groups may be of any size and any level of power or influence. They may vary in size from an informal group of parents to a very large, well-organized national organization. Pressure groups are seen as legitimate or illegitimate by school people, depending upon whether what the pressure group wants is supportive or not supportive of the current school program. For purposes of discussion an arbitrary distinction is made between old, traditionally established groups such as PTA, PTO, service organizations, religious and church groups, athletic oriented groups, and youth service groups, and what we may call new pressure groups represented by minority and women's rights groups, labor unions, local taxpayer groups, extremist groups, education of the handicapped groups, etc.

Most of the effective principals in the study perceive that the traditional pressure groups are supportive of the schools and interested in school improvement. Principals involve these groups in school policy and decision making on a regular basis. (See question 26 of the questionnaire.) Effective principals have worked out techniques for working with and involving these groups in the operation of their schools. Principals meet with these groups regularly. In some cases, meetings are initiated by the principal, and in others they are initiated by the organization. In the more active organizations, the meetings are usually monthly and within the less active organizations once or twice within a six-month period or a year. These organizations tend to be locally based and directed and act through direct interaction with the school, school personnel, school boards, etc. The principal, traditionally, has had control or at least strong influence over decisions or actions taken by these groups. Principals perceive their relationship with these organizations to be ongoing and legitimate. While

the groups may request or demand some particular program or change, the principals view them as supportive of the school's program and, therefore are willing to work with them.

The newer pressure groups tend to be larger and more formally structured, often having state or nationally based organizations. In many cases the strategies for action are determined at a national or state level. These new pressure groups have also tended to act through legislation and/or court action as opposed to informal pressure on district or school personnel. Consequently their influence is felt in a different way than that of traditional pressure groups. The principal or other school personnel often have little or no say in a decision or action that is to be taken. In some cases, the strategy chosen by one of these pressure groups is to select a target school or target school system in which to bring about the pressure for change. As one principal of a quality school known for its innovative programs put it: "It seems like every time someone makes a random selection of schools to study, we get picked; and anytime a group wants a landmark case, they pick on us."

The effective principals had not worked out techniques to deal with these new pressure groups. Only a third of the effective principals indicated that they had any direct experience dealing with them, and their reaction to them was generally negative or at least neutral. These groups were seen as having either a neutral or supportive effect on the schools. Principals did indicate, however, that these newer groups tended to be more interested in being involved in the area of school policy and decision making rather than in school improvement or student performance as were the traditional groups.

The response of principals and other school people to pressure groups depends upon their view of the school as a closed or open system. If one

views the school as a closed system, the presumption exists that the school is operated on rational expectations and that community expectations, governmental requirements, and other outside forces are predictable and manageable. Thus, pressures from the traditional groups are recognized and techniques have been established for working with them. Pressures from the newer groups are not yet perceived as legitimate, and consequently structures have not been created for dealing with them.

If one views the school as an open system, then the organization is seen as constantly seeking a level of accommodation with its external environment or, in effect, political system. Thus, both the traditional and the newer pressure groups may be seen as legitimate and accommodations made for responding to them. A satisfying rather than maximizing of goals and processes is developed. The role of the principal becomes one of mediator, compromiser, coordinator, and facilitator.

Effective principals operate on a contingency model. They tend to view the school as an open system providing long-term structures for those relationships which are relatively stable, and short-term structures for those areas which are under debate. They approach the problem by having a good knowledge of the nature of their organization and how it operates, the nature of the people in their organization, and the nature of the environment in which the school operates. They work at this constantly by informally and formally gathering data and information about the organization, about the members of their staff, and the community in which their school is located.

Reading the Community

During the site conferences it became evident that the effective principals are active in their attempts to read the community. It also became

apparent that they defined the concept of community differently and used different techniques in attempting to read the community or communities served by their school. During the study we were able to identify four groups of schools and principals.

The first group is represented by the small town with a very stable and well defined community structure. The principal is a native of the community, has grown up there, and is related to many of the local power figures. His approach to reading the community is totally informal and is accomplished while attending church or service club meetings, shopping at the local stores, having his car serviced, attending social outings, etc. He engages in basically one-to-one, personal relationships with members of the town. He is a part of the community.

The principal's information flow and collection is on an informal basis. He tends to maintain traditional approaches and biases. He uses the PTA, athletic and band booster clubs, and local service clubs, etc., as the main formal avenues to communicating with community. Because of his socialization into the norms of the traditional community, this principal often has difficulty reading the community when it undergoes change. He is able to respond to the old expectations for his school, but is often unaware or unable to read or respond to new people or groups who hold different expectations for their schools.

A second group of schools may be identified as being basically suburban or urban in nature in which the schools' clientele is drawn from one or more well defined sections of the community. In these cases, effective principals again rely heavily on informal means of identifying and reading various aspects of the community or sub-communities their schools serve. When there

is more than one well identified "community," principals make special efforts to identify each of t. sub-groups and develop techniques for relating to them. This second group of effective principals, while relying on traditional and informal approaches, tend also to establish more formal approaches to gathering information. Thus, while they maintain active relationships with PTA's, service clubs, booster clubs, church groups, etc., they also use opinion surveys, set up meetings in parents' homes or community centers, establish advisory boards, use task forces, establish working relationships with school board members and political figures, develop positive relations with news media, write columns about the school for the local neighborhood papers, gather data from the metropolitan planning commission, and use other aggressively proactive approaches.

Since the principals in this second group may or may not live within their school's attendance zone, they tend to be more active than the first group in their attempts to read and communicate with their school's "community." Also, it is the principals within this and the following two groups who tend to use the techniques of community analysis developed in the study of community power structures. These include reputational analysis, survey analysis, issue analysis, and socio-anthropological field analysis.

A third group of schools may be characterized by not being a part of a single community in the traditional sense. These schools tend to be in an urban area, draw from multiple neighborhoods, often at some distance from the school, and whose clientele is often a function of busing programs brought about through court-ordered desegregation programs.

The effective principals of these schools also rely on informal, personal contacts to gather information about their various "communities." Of the

three groups of principals thus far discussed, this group has the most difficult job in relating to the school's "community." In most cases the principal does not live within his school's attendance zone; therefore, all of his contacts must be deliberately established and he also must try to establish a relationship of trust with them. Often he must work with more than one community, frequently one that is culturally different, having different languages, values, dress, customs, expectations for the school, etc.

Effective principals in this study who work in this third group of schools do not rely on traditional school structures such as the PTA, booster clubs, or service organizations to relate to their communities. They do not expect their client groups to come to the school. The principals go to the leaders and influential organizations within each sub-community. In some cases, this means working with the local ministers, visiting a local church, visiting a local business which is the social or political center of a sub-community, visiting a housing project, attending an athletic event, working with welfare agencies, learning a new language, etc. These principals have developed the ability to relate and communicate with a wide range of groups and individuals.

A final group of schools may be classified, in one sense, as having no "community" at all. They may be represented by magnet schools which draw from all sections of school district or independent (private) schools which also draw from a large geographical area.

The effective principals of these schools are less concerned with "reading the community" than are the principals of the first three groups. That is not to say that they don't engage in many activities similar to those already described. They normally have to be more responsive to the board governing

their particular school and the specific clientele that send their children to the school than to the community at large. Their efforts, therefore, are more focused. They use school related organizations, newsletters, opionnaires, etc., to gather and disseminate information. They also gather reputational data about their schools from news media, political leaders, social leaders, opinion leaders, etc., in order to maintain a positive position within the community.

All of the effective principals in this study demonstrated that they had developed great skill in identifying influential groups and individuals and had established personal, informal and formal working relationships with them.

The Authority of the Principal

Authority is legitimated power. It is the application of power in reference to a group. The group perceives that an individual has power and that the individual may legitimately use it. A principal, therefore, has the same bases of authority as power, i.e., position authority, legal authority, competence authority, and personal or charismatic authority.

One item of the questionnaire focused specifically on the question of community involvement and the authority of the principal. That item was stated as follows: "Citizens' sharing of policy and decision making power does not necessarily decrease the authority of the principal." Of the principals responding to the item, sixty-three percent agreed or strongly agreed with it, while twenty-seven percent disagreed or strongly disagreed.

The purpose of this section is to analyze those responses based on the information gathered during the site conferences. Those principals who perceive that community involvement in schools does diminish the principal's

authority also tend to view the school as a closed system. They generally feel that the community should be involved only in those areas which the school perceives as being important and only in ways that the school sees as appropriate. They perceive that the community does not have the expertise to make professional decisions and, therefore, should not be involved in the decision-making process. They also feel that if you involve the community in one area of decision making, they will want to have even greater input into other areas. This view of the school as a closed system is often encouraged at the board level. The following is a statement from one of the principals: "Board members appear to say they are receptive to the community but tell principals, 'we don't want this kind of input.' The principal is in the middle. The board views community involvement as a threat."

The principals who are concerned about their authority tend to see themselves as the prime decision makers or directors of their schools, and they treat community involvement as a separate discrete task. They see working with community involvement as an extra burden and group decision making as being a slow process and not very efficient.

Perhaps the greatest fear is a loss of control. This concern was expressed in different ways by principals during the site conferences. One principal expressed his concern as follows: "Advisory councils are not mandated but are recognized by the board. The board will listen to citizens' groups more than they will to administrators." Another principal stated: "Some don't know how to get involved. They (school administrators) fear losing control and letting committees run the district."

Finally, some principals feel a loss of authority because they don't know how to involve the community in ways which will achieve a positive and

productive end. In some cases they feel a lack of knowledge and skill, and in others they are simply insecure about approaches to be used. Any change is threatening and certainly the opening up of a school and its program to outside involvement and inspection is highly threatening indeed.

Those principals who perceive that community involvement in schools does not necessarily diminish the authority of the principal tend to view the school as an open system. The school belongs to the community and they have a right to be involved in its operation. These principals see their role more as a facilitator/coordinator rather than decision maker/director. They view community involvement as an integral part of their role specifically relating to the outside environment in order to get the necessary resources for their school and program.

These principals still view themselves as decision makers and in control of the total program. They tend to delegate more responsibility to other members of their staff and to committees and task forces. They establish management systems for handling problems. They are not threatened by involvement of the community in decision-making processes. As one principal put it, "Initially the staff felt threatened by the advisory council, but they are not threatened now. They recognize the usefulness of the council." The position of these principals can perhaps be best stated as follows: "The question is how is the decision going to be made, not who is going to make it."

With community involvement in schools, the principal's authority is more changed than diminished. This is particularly true in terms of position authority. The principal's position authority is based on the formal position of the principal within the hierarchy of the school system. Community involvement would focus more on coordinating, facilitating, planning, structuring, process seeking, rather than on deciding or directing. Actually, a principal's positional authority may be more a function of the centralization

or decentralization of the administrative structure of the school system than on community involvement at the building level. The more centralized the decision making within a school system, the less likely the principal is to be encouraged to involve the local community within the decision making and policy making structure of the school. The more decentralized the system and the greater the focus on school based management, the greater the likelihood and opportunity for community involvement in the school.

Community involvement in shared policy and decision making has little effect upon the principal's legal authority. Legal authority is that authority ascribed through statute and case law. One of the tasks of principals working with community groups is to interpret and inform those groups as to what the school legally can or cannot do. The principal's legal authority is more likely to be attacked or diminished by actions of state or national groups than by local community groups. For example, a principal's legal decision-making authority has been influenced by teacher/union contracts, education for the handicapped laws, vocational education laws, etc.

A principal's authority of competence is that authority based upon personal knowledge, skill, and ability. It may or may not be changed by community involvement in policy and decision making. The principal's actions will be more open to evaluation and observation. There will be greater opportunities for community leaders to ask: "Does the principal get the job done? Does he know what he is doing?" In some situations, therefore, the principal will be seen as less effective. In others, the principal will be seen as being more effective. Effective principals in this study were seen as being more effective because of their ability to

communicate and work with a wide range of people and to get the job done. In effect, the more open they were, the more competent they were seen.

Finally, community involvement requires greater use of the principal's personal or charismatic authority. The principal must do more involving and selling rather than telling and directing. He has greater need for well developed human relations skills and, in particular, skills in the area of conflict management and mediation. If the individual has these skills, then his authority from this base increases with community involvement. If he does not have these skills, then this authority base is very weak and community involvement is indeed a threat.

To summarize, the following quote from one of the effective principals states their position well. "Every good administrator must use the community as a sounding board, but the final decision is the principal's. You must have the community see you and the school as receptive." Community involvement is necessary and important. A principal must adapt and find positive ways of bringing it about.

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Chapter 5: THE COMMUNITY, THE PRINCIPAL AND THE NORM OF TEACHER AUTONOMY

Given an understanding of the notion that school organizations are usually marked by a relatively high degree of public vulnerability (Bidwell, 1965), i.e., that taxpayers have a right to question and hold their schools accountable, it may not be surprising that principals and teachers appear sensitive to both the assets and possible liabilities of community involvement in schools. With respect to recent resource scarcity and varying degrees of public discontent about declining achievement scores, teacher strikes and competence of high school graduates, there appear to be little in our contemporary experience which suggests a reduction in the public vulnerability experienced by schools. In this context, when teachers say to the public, "Come on in and visit my class anytime!", one is left wondering how teachers would react if people really took them up on the invitation, resulting in a continuous stream of questioning citizens moving in and out of classrooms. Would teachers welcome or resist such involvement? Again, according to the sample of "effective" principals involved in our project, teachers would be threatened by such occurrences.

A phase of the work reported in this monograph was a survey of effective high school principals which sought responses indicative of attitudes and perceptions about community involvement in schools. A majority of principals seemed to associate community involvement with increased support of the school by the community, more positive community attitudes about school, and better student conduct. These same principals also tended to suggest some possible limitations of community involvement: domination of the process by a vocal few; a possible reduction in the ability of the school to take quick,

decisive action; and the possibility that policy making will become a cumbersome process. While less than a majority of these principals were willing to attribute student learning gains to community involvement, they seemed to suggest that the positive outcomes of community involvement usually outweighed possible liabilities. On the other hand, nearly 77% of the principals polled either "strongly agreed" or "agreed" that: "Although teachers generally give rhetorical support for citizen participation, they feel threatened by it."

As a follow-up to the survey responses, McCleary and Hines (1980) arranged regional site conferences involving small groups of principals identified as having exemplary school community relations skills. The author of this paper, a faculty member in educational administration at a cooperating university, helped conduct one site conference and had an opportunity to review survey results and conference transcripts of the entire project. The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the perceptions of the various principals involved in the project and to examine the relationship between citizen involvement and possible teachers' perceptions of such involvement in terms of professional autonomy. A moderating variable in this relationship is the role performance of the principal.

In speculating about theoretical relationships and possible implications for practice in the principalship, it appears necessary to define certain terms. Specifically, community involvement and participation, the norm of teacher autonomy, principal support for teacher autonomy, teacher receptiveness to community and functional equivalency all seem to be fruitful variables.

Community Involvement and Participation

Figure 1 represents a generalization derived from an analysis of participating principals' responses with respect to perceived levels of community involvement or participation present in their school organizations. Based in part on these perceptions, it may be helpful to define involvement as school-community activity supportive of school policy making and participation as actual school-community policy-making and implementation activity. Suggested is a continuum ranging from involvement activity such as regular "question and answer" meetings with concerned parents to participation activity such as citizen membership on a school policy-making body.

(Figure 1 goes about here)

In terms of this continuum at least five general levels of community involvement or participation are apparent: informational exchange between school and community (probably the least participative in nature); mechanisms which facilitate the "blowing-off of steam" related to frustrations community members may have about the operation of their schools; the use of citizens to help define school problems; citizens making policy recommendations; and actual citizen participation in policy making and implementation (probably the most participative in nature). These levels are presented hierarchically, suggesting that those activities closer to the apex involve higher degrees of actual participation than those at lower levels.

For instance, principals noted that "ventilating groups" composed of community members (elected in some cases, appointed or volunteers in other cases) and school representatives meet regularly to simply exchange information and answer questions about school operation. Sometimes these meetings, often

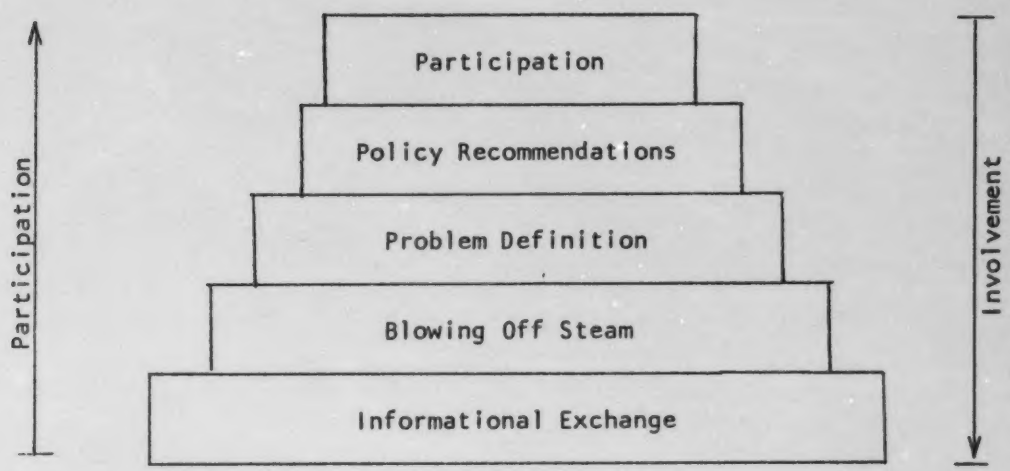

Figure 1. Levels of School-Community Involvement and Participation.

with no agendas, allow citizens an opportunity to vent frustrations or "blow off steam" in relatively harmless, yet productive, ways. Other principals reported using community representatives, at least in part, as formal problem definition teams to identify important areas of concern for school staff to address in the coming year(s). Advisory groups that actually make recommendations for organizational change, particularly with respect to controversial topics, i.e. drug abuse policy, were in operation in some schools. As one principal noted, "A parent advisory group's recommendations brought about a student smoking area in our school." There was even mention of citizen participation on the principal's policy-making council in some high schools or as part of a committee responsible for implementing certain programs.

The Norm of Teacher Autonomy

Lortie (1975) notes that teacher sentiments do not favor close supervision of their work. These sentiments are manifested in the norms of the teacher group promoting teacher defensiveness over classroom activity. Teachers often say, "Let's face it, there is no best way to teach. I know the teaching methods that fit me best. I'm a professional; let me decide what to do in my own classroom."

These expressions of autonomy hold that the teacher is the legitimate classroom authority and rightfully holds discretionary power over matters such as instructional processes, pupil control, motivation and evaluation. According to this norm of teacher autonomy, no teaching colleague, administrator or community member may threaten this authority. The normative power or strength of the teacher autonomy norm is probably best understood in terms of its regulatory influence, influencing members of the teacher

group to conform through the use of peer pressure or through group resistance to external efforts to limit teacher discretion or autonomy (Packard, 1976). As an example, a parent advisory group might consider a recommendation to the high school principal mandating parent evaluations of teaching as part of the school's process of instructional supervision, but as they consider such a recommendation, they must also understand its potential threat to teacher autonomy and the probable resistance it would generate among teachers in that school.

Figure 1 indicates that as citizen participation levels increase, so does the potential threat to the teacher autonomy norm. However, it is important to note that the norm of autonomy does not necessarily prohibit cooperation and collaboration between teachers and others, citizens or parents for instance. Instead it holds that such cooperation should not be required, but should be dependent on the discretion of the teacher or the teacher group. As a consequence, it is important to remember that while citizen participation may be potentially threatening to teacher autonomy, teacher sentiments suggest that they reserve the right to cooperate or resist external participation as they see fit (Packard, 1976).

Principal Support for Autonomy

If we assume that the norm of teacher autonomy provides teachers with a relatively predictable environment and security against the possible threat of outside interference in the conduct of their classrooms, then it becomes apparent that anything a principal does to alter the structure of teacher relations with others in the school and community can be construed to enhance or reduce the stability of the teachers' work environment. Those things principals do which support autonomy, i.e., enforcement of rules

about classroom visitation or involving teachers in decision-making processes, might be viewed as reducing the possibility of threat to teacher autonomy. Principals who routinely drop in unexpectedly to evaluate teacher performance or who exclude teachers from important school committees might be viewed as acting in ways that threaten teacher autonomy.

Teacher Receptiveness to Community

Teacher receptivity to community or community involvement might be understood on an "open-closed" continuum. While the survey results suggest that teachers are generally threatened by community involvement or participation, there may be considerable variation in teacher sentiments from one specific situation to another. In some schools or under certain circumstances, teachers might be relatively open or receptive to community participation, encouraging community input into policy making and classroom organization. In other situations, teachers may be relatively closed or unreceptive to community relationships, dragging their feet and maintaining their defenses against community influence. In some cases, teacher openness or receptivity might be associated with a reduction in the relative defensiveness of the teacher autonomy norm.

Functional Equivalency

The elements of functional analysis (Merton, 1968) and its applications to school organizations hold that the structural features of schools can be understood in terms of their functions or consequences for the adjustment and adaptation of certain roles within their organizational settings and the adaptation of the organization to the larger environment (Willower, 1970; and Thompson, 1967). The norm of teacher autonomy, for instance, might be viewed in terms of its consequences for the role of teacher, i.e., that it tends to

increase their control over their work environment, thereby making it more stable and predictable. This norm also tends to control or even exclude community input into classroom and school operation, suggesting a way teachers tend to adapt or adjust to the school's external environment. These latent or unrecognized consequences of the teacher autonomy norm may have relatively positive or functional outcomes for teachers. They may also have negative or dysfunctional consequences for the school-community relationship, often by inhibiting public influence in school policy making.

Merton (1968) notes that those who seek organizational change without notice of intended and latent consequences performed by the structures to be changed, engage in social ritual rather than social engineering. The concept of functional equivalency suggests that the elimination or modification of organizational structure must be accomplished by replacing the unwanted structure with alternative structure that will fulfill the functions formerly provided by the one abolished or modified. Structures that do this are called functional equivalents (Willower, 1970). For instance, if school principals wish to reduce or eliminate the norm of teacher autonomy, they must replace the norm with structure that routinely provides teachers with the same security previously derived from this norm. The hope is that the new structure will provide the same outcomes as the old structure, but with fewer or none of the unwanted outcomes of the old structure.

Some Hypotheses

The idea of functional equivalency may suggest some insight about the relationship between community, principal, and the norm of teacher autonomy. For instance, if we speculate that the norm of teacher autonomy provides

teachers with security against the threat of external limitation of their classroom discretionary powers, then it becomes apparent that anything a principal does to change or influence the norm, in order to be supported by teachers, must provide the same security afforded previously by the norm. While more than one structural alternative may be possible, let's focus solely on the principal's behavior as a possible functional equivalent and present the following hypothesis:

> H_1: As teacher perceptions of the principal's support for their autonomy increase, the more defensive aspects of the teacher autonomy norm decrease.

The suggestion implicit in H_1 is that principals who nurture and support teacher discretion tend to reduce the need for the autonomy defenses of teachers. Certainly, a principal could act in ways that support autonomy but also reduce the degree of public input in school policy making. Such a principal might attempt to protect teacher autonomy by "stonewalling" community suggestions about policy changes or complaints about school operation. While this might be construed to be an example of functional equivalency, this principal's support has done little good since negative or dysfunctional elements of former structure were also preserved. The strength of the autonomy norm may have been reduced (perhaps leading to improved principal-teacher relationships) but without necessarily enhancing the school-community relationship.

Instead, principal behaviors which support teacher autonomy and enhance the school-community relationships might be more appropriate examples. For instance, principals participating in the site conferences reported that teacher service on school-community advisory committees (non-mandatory, discretionary service) often involved teachers and the public in ways that

were relatively non-threatening to teachers. Teacher participation in the selection, orientation, and assignment of community volunteers to work in classrooms is another example of a program that principals noted which enhanced both community relationships and teacher discretionary power. Such behavior by principals in implementing and monitoring programs that do not threaten teacher autonomy but improve school-community relationships suggests a second hypothesis:

> H_2: As the more defensive aspects of the teacher autonomy norm decrease, teacher receptivity to community involvement and participation increase.

In developing school-community advisory or policy-making groups, allowing teachers to freely choose their levels of participation and the nature of participation, principals suggest that the more defensive aspects of the teacher autonomy norm are reduced and that teacher openness or receptivity to community is enhanced. Again, it is important to recall that the meaning of teacher autonomy does not necessarily prohibit teacher support of community involvement and participation, but merely holds that involvement with community in school decision making should be dependent on teacher discretion. The structures noted above probably tend to tap the best features of the autonomy norm while minimizing its more dysfunctional aspects; more coercive attempts by principals to elicit teacher-community cooperation, however well-intentioned, are probably less likely to produce the same type of results with respect to teacher receptiveness to the public.

A Model

As Figure 2 shows, a principal's performance might be viewed as having at least two dimensions in terms of improving community involvement and

participation: behavior supportive of teacher autonomy, and behavior which encourages community input in school decision making. If we can describe each type of behavior on a simplistic "high-low" continuum, a two-by-two matrix emerges for illustrative purposes. The matrix can be described in terms of four quadrants, each suggestive of a certain type of situation with respect to school and community. As an example, quadrant A describes a school situation in which the degree of principal support for teacher autonomy and the degree of principal encouragement of community input are both relatively high. This quadrant is also characterized by relatively open teacher receptivity (connoted by a "+" symbol). The opposite situation is described in quadrant C, characterized by relatively closed teacher receptivity to community (connoted by a "-" symbol). Let's consider each quadrant as descriptive of certain general types of school situations which might result from a natural mix of the variables noted in the hypotheses. As a high school principal, which fits your school situation best?

(Figure 2 goes about here)

Quadrant A: The Healthy School. As noted above, this situation involves a principal who nurtures and supports both teacher autonomy and community input. As a result, using the words of principals participating in the site conferences, "there is plenty of fresh air and ventilation between school and community." In this school situation teachers tend to exhibit a relative openness to such relationships and a relative absence of defensiveness about their professional autonomy. Principal, teachers, students, and public probably interact in ways that lead to ongoing examination of programs and objectives, perhaps even some experimentation.

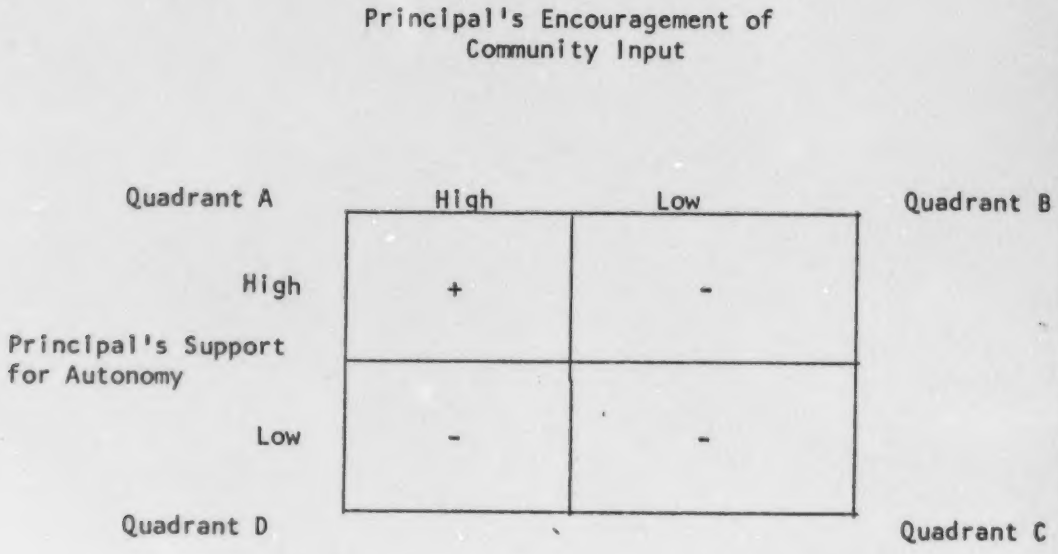

Figure 2. A Model: School-Community Situations.

Community involvement and participation are observable in the everyday operation of the school. Traumatic school-community clashes are possible, but tend to be resolved in open and productive ways.

Quadrant B: The Defensive School. This situation is characterized by relatively high degrees of principal support for teacher autonomy, relatively low degrees of encouragement of community input, and relatively closed teacher receptiveness to community. While teachers and principal may be working cooperatively on school programs, they tend to resist community input based on the belief that the professional staff alone knows what is best for its students. Public relations and involvement, like parents' nights or newsletters, tend to be emphasized over actual community participation. This situation sometimes becomes traumatic should the school and community become polarized over differences about school operation and purposes.

Quadrant C: The Anemic School. As noted above, this school involves a principal who supports and encourages neither teacher autonomy nor community input. Teacher receptivity to community may be either ambivalent or closed. Teachers are on their own, and as a consequence, teacher autonomy and discretion are probably the order of each day. Teachers and principal probably emphasize "doing your own thing." They exhibit ambivalence with respect to school goals, community needs and values, and give only lip service to coordination efforts. Community relations, predominantly at involvement levels, tend to be seen as chores of the school year.

Given the multiple and autonomous definitions about classroom and school operations, this situation is probably resistant to change and relatively crisis oriented. The principal may often be placed in the precarious

position of defending teacher behavior he/she neither understands nor condones. In mediating these disputes, neither teachers nor parents are satisfied. Compared to the "ventilation" characteristic of healthy schools, one might observe that the symptoms of anemia are typically weakness and breathlessness.

Quadrant D: The Paradoxical School. Characterized by the principal's low degree of support for teacher autonomy and the principal's high degree of support for community input, this school might best be seen as a paradox from the public's point of view. The principal invites the public in to meet and work with teachers who are relatively closed in terms of their receptivity to community. While teachers give polite overt support to the principal's community efforts, covertly they probably feel a degree of hostility over an apparent lack of support for their professional discretion and act in ways that subtlely undermine community efforts. While involvement type activities are the most successful elements of school-community relations, largely due to the principal's efforts, the principal can often be heard to lament that community participation efforts always seem to dissipate due to dwindling interest. Until this well-intentioned administrator increases his understanding of structural-functional relationships, attempts to improve the school-community relationship are doomed to be examples of Merton's (1968) social rituals rather than authentic community involvement and participation.

Conclusion

The relationships and typology presented in this paper are tentative and speculative in nature. Speculation is based on only a small part of a larger data base produced by McCleary and Hines (1980) and this author's interpretation of the comments made by principals thought to possess

exemplary school-community skills. The purpose was to present food for thought and identify variables in ways that might be helpful to principals attempting to enhance school-community relationships.

The discussion was relatively straightforward and limited. Little was done, for example, to deal with intervening variables like the impact of collective bargaining on school-community relations, and little advice of a prescriptive nature was offered. This author suggests theoretical constructs which are applicable when generalized to particular school situations. The specific steps to be taken to reduce defensive aspects of the teacher autonomy norm or increase community input in a particular high school setting for practical reasons are left to the school principal. One starting point for reflection is the school situation typology provided. Questions include: Which type fits your situation best? Given the variables and relationships identified, what could be done next to improve your school's relationship with its community? Hopefully, this analysis of the teacher autonomy norm relative to increased community involvement and participation can assist in understanding and treating this important area of concern.

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Chapter 6: THE PRINCIPAL'S JOB: WHERE, WHAT, AND HOW OF COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

Before the study of the Principal's Role in Community Involvement began, a significant amount of planning was devoted to obtaining information about how community involvement activities and the principal's job were interrelated. We were interested in those areas of the principal's job in which community involvement occurred, the nature and content of such activities, the actions taken by principals and the results of such actions. The principals were to be asked many questions about types and strategies of community involvement, problems and conditions, personal/professional preferences, points of view, and the like. In addition, what was needed was a means to obtain specific, reasonably objective accounts of actual events which later could be analyzed in terms of a predetermined framework.

Studies of the principal's job provided a rational-deductive description based upon categories of functions and sub-functions. Eight categories of functions into which most content of the principal's job can be classified are: 1.0 student personnel, 2.0 professional staff personnel, 3.0 school-community relations, 4.0 curriculum and program development, 5.0 supervision of instruction, 6.0 finance, 7.0 facilities, and 8.0 management. Each function has been identified as having four to eight primary sub-functions. For example:

1.0 Student Personnel

- 1.1 Counseling and Guidance Services
- 1.2 Zoning and Scheduling
- 1.3 Health Services
- 1.4 Data and Records
- 1.5 Student Activities
- 1.6 Social Adjustment and Disciplinary Action

This classification scheme of eight functions and forty-three sub-functions was used to locate content areas into which specific community involvement activities could be sorted and analyzed.

To obtain specific accounts of actual events a critical incident method was employed. Principals were asked to write brief accounts of actual events which had occurred during the previous three months. The critical incidents were to contain descriptions of events, actions taken, and results. Principals were not told of the categories which were to be used to classify incidents reported. They were told to write incidents which had both positive and negative results and with which they were personally involved.

Distribution of Critical Incidents: Impacts on the Principal's Job

Over two hundred usable critical incidents were obtained during the site conferences. Those retained for analysis were ones in which the precipitating event was clear and the principal's behavior was sufficiently specific as to leave no doubt about the action taken and the results reported. Community involvement events which directly impacted the job of the principal are reported below:

Table 1: Critical Incidents and the Principal's Job, by Percents

Functional Sub-function	% of CI's	
1.0 Student Personnel		32.2
1.1 Counseling and Guidance Services	1.6	
1.2 Zoning and Scheduling	3.2	
1.5 Student Activities	4.8	
1.6 Social Adjustment and Discipline	22.6	
3.0 School/Community Relations		32.3
3.1 Public Information System	9.7	
3.2 Personal-Community Involvement	9.7	
3.3 Special School Related Activities	3.2	
3.4 Coordination and Recognition of Community Assistance	9.7	

(Table 1, cont.)

4.0 Curriculum/Program Development		6.5
4.1 Curriculum Review and Development Assistance	6.5	
7.0 Physical Facilities		8.0
7.1 Facility Administration	3.2	
7.4 New Facility Planning	3.2	
7.5 Facility Remodeling and New Construction	1.6	
8.0 Management		21.0
8.1 System Policy and Procedures	14.6	
8.6 Safety and Security	6.4	
Total		100.0 %

There is no presumption of representativeness in terms of the data shown in Table 1. Principals in the sample were selected because of reputed competence and interest in community involvement. We did assume that such principals would be more aggressive in using problems and issues as a basis of community involvement, and this assumption was borne out in comparing site conference participant responses with those of the random survey sample. In terms of the distribution of critical incidents throughout the categories of principal job functions, there was no difference between incidents reported by the selected, site conference participants and the random sample. Therefore, one could assume a somewhat similar distribution of critical incidents throughout job categories with other samples of principals taking into account the condition that principals were not given job categories and asked to attempt to write incidents covering all categories.

Given the latter point made above, principals, when left to select incidents of community involvement impacting their jobs, would report a distribution of incidents quite like those shown in Table 1. As expected, school/community relations events *per se* (category 3.0) was a high activity area for

the principal (32.3 percent of all incidents), but it was no higher than category 1.0 student personnel. The school/community relations activities were almost evenly divided among all sub-functions with exactly the same number of incidents reported for 3.1 public information system, 3.2 personal-community involvement activities, and 3.4 coordination and recognition of community assistance. However in the 1.0 student personnel function, social adjustment and disciplinary actions contributed more than two-thirds of the incidents of the four sub-functions reported by principals.

In the third highest category, 8.0 management, the system policy and procedures sub-function accounted for 14.6 percent of all incidents reported. This sub-function was second only to the social adjustment and discipline category in terms of numbers of incidents reported. Verbally and in the questionnaire, principals indicated a heavy involvement with the community in both the development of school policies and procedures and in work with the school board and central administration, where there is heavy responsibility for interpretation and implementation with community and parent groups.

Interestingly, professional staff personnel (category 2.0), supervision of instruction (category 5.0), and finance (catetory 6.0) had no incidents reported. A number of incidents, as will be shown, provided evidence of secondary influence upon professional staff activities, supervision and curriculum/program development aspects of the principal's job. In one case, for example, a student activity incident led to heavy involvement with professional staff personnel and to a resignation.

One can conclude that the critical incident data reveal areas of the principal's job that are heavily impacted by events which offer, even require, opportunities for community involvement. The categories of functions and sub-functions indicate areas important to the principal's performance, areas

in which the principal needs to be able to take action in a manner that is productive to the school's mission and, at the same time, result in positive community attitudes and support.

Critical Incidents, Principal's Actions and Results

Critical incidents are indicative of sets of conditions toward which principals must exercise judgment. As discussed in Chapter 1, principals were very alert to incidents to be attended to and the manner in which they were to be treated in a particular community in order to attain the results desired. Some principals noted that it was an important matter of judgment, first of all, to decide whether to initiate any action. One principal has been quoted earlier as saying, "A problem doesn't exist until it reaches the principal's desk." He went on to qualify this remark by specifying types of incidents about which he had schooled the staff to report to certain individuals or directly to him.

The model in Chapter 1, Modes of Administrative Action, and the attendant explanation describes administrative actions in relation to conditions and events as proactive, interactive, and reactive. These modes were clearly represented in the incidents reported. Few of the effective principals treated incidents in a purely reactive mode unless the structures and procedures were already established and the principal was needed, for political or other reasons, to initiate and monitor procedures. In most cases, principals who exercise leadership in community involvement find means to turn incidents into proactive approaches to problem solving.

In this section selected incidents are reported as much as possible in the words principals reported them. All incidents were summarized in terms of

a) situation, b) principal's actions, and c) results. Incidents were keyed to the job areas by function and sub-function as described in the previous section. A selection of incidents, at least one for each sub-function, are given below.

	Situation	Principal's Actions	Results
1.1	Special students were denied admission to vocational classes. Parents asked that the students be admitted.	Worked with the counselor to develop guidelines for special student admission on a trial basis.	Special students are now selected for admission to vocational classes.
1.2	Parents concerned about grade-level reorganization of schools.	Appointed a citizens' committee several months in advance of a grade-level change to assist in the transition.	The committee developed activities and procedures that helped in a smooth transition.

Note: Incidents citing organizational changes with no community participation reported frustration and bitterness that were expected to continue for extended periods of time.

1.5	Selection of team (particularly girls' drill teams and cheerleaders) membership protested by parents.	Selected a committee of parents representing various interest groups and coordinated parent efforts to write selection criteria and procedures.	Objective criteria and procedures are reviewed and applied each year. Little parent complaint.
1.5	Parents organized an athletic booster club and insisted on picking out new football uniforms. Dissention within parent group and conflict with coaches resulted.	After a hard session with club officers, was able to obtain agreement to coach-team representatives making initial selection and reporting to the club for input before a final selection.	Coach and club continued at odds, club membership dropped, and coach resigned.
1.6	Concern expressed repeatedly about the use of drugs, alcohol, and tobacco on school property	Organized the faculty and local law enforcement personnel to improve control over drug, etc., usage and the presence of unauthorized personnel on campus. Notified 750 parents of the organized effort and requested attendance at a meeting. Only 25 parents and 6 students showed up.	The problem was not resolved. Incidence of drug violation, etc., has gone down and there are fewer parent complaints. Small student-teacher-parent board continues to monitor the problem.

Situation	Principal's Actions	Results
Note: A wide variety of discipline related incidents were reported by the principals including rioting, egg throwing, loitering, littering, knifing, trespassing, etc. The response the principals gave that most consistently reduced the incidence of these problems and quieted community unrest was one of organizing tighter control over students and the school, obtaining cooperation for quick reporting from "neighbors," and working out procedures with police and district security.		
3.1 A need for parents to be aware of school affairs such as changes in policy and procedure, school boundaries, funding requirements, pending teacher strike, etc.	Used telephoning, school publications, and the local press to disseminate information.	Increased parent acceptance of school policies and procedures, reduced the incident of negative phone calls, and seemed to increase the probability that bond issues, for example, would pass.
3.2 Various interest groups not satisfied with treatment of their students or uncertain of the school's motives	Planned discussion topics and informative presentations and personally met and talked with interest groups.	Time consuming, but responses were warm, positive, and cooperation in a variety of projects increased.
3.3 A need for tutorial assistance beyond budgetary capability of the school.	Informed the P.T A. president of tutorial needs by subject area and level.	Obtained 28 volunteers, for example, to help in the instructional program, clinic, etc.
3.4 Special interest (e.g., football booster clubs) organize without knowledge of the school administration usually to change the program or its personnel.	Invited leaders to discuss the purposes of the organization and assisted them in drafting a constitution and by-laws providing a method to give input to the administration regarding their interests.	Organizations adopted written purposes and worked within an organized framework.
4.1 A recognized academic need or parental concern or curricular modification.	Organized committees of appropriate faculty, parents and students and coordinated work distribution.	Over a period of time alternative schools were developed, guidelines and curriculum for gifted classes were written, etc.

Concepts To Guide Practice

Drawing from the incidents reported, it is possible to arrive at concepts and generalizations which can serve as a guide to practice. In this way experience systematically examined can be of practical value. A number of concepts and generalizations are readily identifiable from the incidents reported, and these are reported in terms of their use to the principal.

Information Assimilation

Generalization: The receipt of unorganized facts, attitudes, and values can be processed and used in the school's program and operations.

Example: Listening, learning, and integrating information received from an ad hoc citizens committee into a grade-level reorganization of the school (Ref. - Incident 1.2).

Norm-Based Discipline

Generalization: Organize faculty, staff, and law enforcement officials to train students to act according to standard patterns of behavior founded in the law and fundamental principles of the community.

Example: Working with an advisory committee to establish norms regarding drugs, smoking, drinking, etc., and drafting policy parameters for violations. Then, having received information or observed students drinking alcoholic beverages at a sporting event on campus, call the offenders aside, counsel them on the law and policy of the community and administer disciplinary action accordingly (Ref. - Incident 1.6).

	Situation	Principal's Actions	Results
7.1	A variety of non-school related groups in the community asked to use school facilities for meetings and activities such as weight watchers, to give contractor examinations, and little league baseball.	Studied and wrote policies to guide approval of group use and developed guidelines for cost of group use when personnel were furnished to opened facilities during non-school hours.	The sphere of school influence expanded increasing the value of the school to the community.
7.4/ 7.5	Citizens asked the principal to build a new baseball field for use by school and community teams.	Proposed the parent group and school system build the field through joint effort, identified the contributions of each and coordinated the work.	The school and community have a new baseball field open to the public on a planned basis.
8.1	Advisory and other committees want policy changes such as stricter attendance, constitutional changes for clubs, and use of equipment.	Met with persons requesting policy to study alternative approaches and draft new policies	Few parent complaints and a feeling that the school is complying with the norms of the community.
8.6	Vandalism, burglary, and other out-of-hours events	School Advisory Committee recommended lighting, unscheduled patrols, and neighborhood alert campaign.	Patrols and neighborhood alert initiated, lights obtained only after letters to the board from Advisory Comm.; several arrests have been made; situation improved.

The incidents generated in the study and exemplified in the summary reported here result from reports of many principals, representing differing types of schools over a wide geographical area of the nation. Using these to predict results based upon the principal's actions is inappropriate. Failures in specific circumstances occur even with extensive effort; see for example sub-function 1.5 regarding the athletic booster club incident. The incidents however do illustrate the types of community involvement situations which are faced by principals.

Criteria-Based Selection Procedures

Generalization: A course of action can be determined to identify students for specific purposes according to known standards of judgment or principles.

Example: Sampling student, parent, and sponsor opinion of personal attributes related to specific activities such as cheerleading. Then, objectively applying the criteria identified in the selection of student participants for each activity (Ref. - 1.1 and 1.5).

Information Dissemination

Generalization: Organization of facts and knowledge about the school and its program for the communication of such information via telephone, speaking, bulletin, or the news media to the public.

Example: Knowing that school boundaries must change to accommodate a shift in population, planned the rezoning, wrote a brief article on the cause and the planned changes, and published the article in school newspapers and the local press (Ref. - 3.1).

External Influence Governance

Generalization: Reconciliation and regulation of persons and special interest groups is necessary when they attempt to dominate or otherwise control the school program or its personnel.

Example: A small but influential group of parents, upon attempting to get the head football coach fired, were organized into an active booster club with a charter limiting the activity of parents to positive activity (fund raising, for example).

The organization provides the principal with an open forum for discussing parental opinion of the sports programs (Ref. - 3.4).

Resource Unification

Generalization: Organizing by rallying, combining and consolidating community wealth such as capital, materials, supplies, property, labor, and expertise is necessary for the improvement of school facilities.

Example: A group of citizens approached the principal to build a new baseball field for school and community use. The principal secured partial funding from the School Board and then organized the community to supply the required labor and equipment to build the field (Ref. - 7.4 and 7.5).

Norm-Based Policy Making

Generalization: Identification and use of fundamental community values and principles is useful in planning and writing management strategy for a school systems course of action.

Example: A group of citizens concerned about the use of drugs on campus wrote recommendations on drug restrictions, some of which were unenforceable. The principal met with the group to rewrite the recommendations to comply with their values and standards and with legal principles. The recommendations were then accepted as school policy (Ref. - 8.1).

The concepts and generalizations derived from critical incidents as keyed to the principal's job show the principal as exercising leadership but not control. Influence begins with information assimilation, communication,

process determination and management, and ultimate transformation of attitudes and values. Those principals who are effective view all groups as potential allies to assist in school improvement; they are as interested in the quality of the involvement of people as with the result; they tend to view themselves as creating the means to bring together those upon whom a successful outcome depends; and they base their credibility upon their knowledge of education, their awareness of community possibilities for educational improvement, and upon their open, authentic approach to all who have concerns involving the school.

The critical incident technique employed in this phase of the study proved valuable in relating specific events in community involvement to the job of the principal. The content of the incidents could be keyed easily to generally accepted functions and sub-functions descriptive of major areas of responsibility. Principals' actions and results as reported and interpreted by effective principals reveal concepts and generalizations which should be useful to all principals who wish to improve community involvement practices.

Chapter 7: THE EXERCISE OF CHOICE IN SHAPING SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

In preceeding chapters we have taken reports of principals and attempted to build conceptual frameworks from which principals can make sense of their situations. Surveys, conference discussions, written exercises, and collections of materials in use provided data for that work. Much of what principals reported can be generalized and used for a variety of purposes: from enhancing chances of survival, to assessing conditions and analyzing issues, to refining current practices to reconstructing school-community relationships. In this chapter an attempt is made to deal with the more specific applications of what was learned from principals about school community relations.

Principals identified several sets of conditions with which they must come to terms if they are to succeed with any equanimity. These we were able to group into categories which we came to call dilemmas, myths, and leadership role choices. These are largely points of view or perspectives about conditions being faced and about which principals offered unique insights. Principals also made numerous suggestions and recommendations that could permit them to "take charge" and function as leaders rather than as functionaries in community relations. Their suggestions and recommendations we have tried to organize in a manner that will be of direct application on the job.

Dilemmas for the Principal

Although principals tended to report and discuss certain conditions as "problems," it was apparent that they were describing dilemmas. Problems can be solved or at least have solutions toward which one works. Dilemmas are not solvable in the usual problem solving sense. Dilemmas are conditions with which one comes to terms and attempts to minimize, skirt, avoid, or live with as best

one can. Unfortunately, the area of school-community relations is fraught with dilemmas. Effective principals were quick to point out that the principal who sought ultimate solutions, particularly on his terms, was in for frustration, much waste of time and effort, and eventual disappointment.

Among dilemmas associated with school-community relations are the following:

1. School boards and central administrations that are fearful of loss of control. Many principals feel they are vulnerable to situations in which involvement is encouraged but the principal is told that "certain things are not to be changed," "we don't want this kind of input," or "nothing can be done about this--you handle it." As one principal stated, "Blanket central office approach to community involvement is no longer workable, but they (board) feel they can put us off more easily than they can groups of citizens."

2. Protection and control of the principal's time is a primary concern. More than any other single factor, control of time was a dilemma for principals. "We get new things to do every day--we have a one-gallon bucket, but ten gallons of things to do." "I have more advisory committees than I can use." "There is only so much time, and community involvement could take it all without strong limits and good delegation." "Most parents want to talk with the principal first." "I began to involve the community in school problems, and I got more help than I needed--there's a lot of community."

3. Attempts to satisfy everyone and to listen to everyone lead to frustration and loss of direction. "We are expected to be all things to all people--it just can't be done." "There is no such thing as an outcome that will satisfy all the groups that come together on an issue. "We involved a citizens group on the sex education controversy that recommended voluntary participation, but some still insist there shouldn't be a program for anyone."

"The principal should use advisory councils as weathervanes and retain control of final decisions; but it's tough."

4. Definition of the principal's role in relation to community involvement was particularly troublesome, and it tended to impact all concerns expressed by principals. Principals recognized that they could not determine their role on their own and that role clarification was a constant task. "We find that the train is rolling down the track, and it won't slow down just for us to get on." "We cannot get into a position of defending our role." "There is a need to re-think the role--the more successful we become in dealing with problems, the more we get to deal with." "How does one satisfy the community and maintain one's own integrity?"

5. The nature of community involvement itself is not a settled matter by any means. Principals sensed that wide disagreement exists and that they are caught up in attempting to function in an ill-defined area of activity. "The principal should find as many exposures as he can to the entire community." "I think the less community involvement the better." "The key is knowing what sort of involvement will be helpful." "You can't avoid it because the community will bring the problems to you." "Whatever you do, take your community with you--we took the folks over the side with us." "If you don't anticipate, the community can really get to you." "I keep a very low profile--community involvement is a can of worms." "Community involvement is necessary for survival." "The biggest problem is that we don't know how to get involved."

6. The relationship of the teaching staff and its position concerning community involvement is a dilemma for principals. They see a wide variety of difficulties which are likely to continue. "The vast majority of problems and conflicts derive from teacher-parent communication failures." "With declining enrollments teachers will get older, not better." "Faculty originally thought

citizens'councils were super snoopervisors." "If we expected the same thing out of our teachers as our doctors, we would all be dead." "Parents wanted a teacher transferred because of her ill treatment of students--they did it, God bless them." "We are in a real bind when we go against our faculties even if a community choice is the most desirable one."

These dilemmas are deduced from the collective observations and experiences of principals. Yet, these can be expected to be present to some degree in most situations. The important point that the effective principals made is not to assume that the problems are yours to solve or even that they are solvable. Rather, they are part of the conditions of work to be taken into account as one proceeds with the business at hand. Some aspects of these dilemmas have been dealt with in previous chapters. Remaining sections of this chapter should provide explicit means for minimizing their effects.

Myths Concerning School-Community Relations and the Principal

Here we refer to sets of conditions which have come to be labeled with certain terms and accepted quite generally as "truths of the trade." There is just enough truth to myths that they tend to be accepted without serious examination, and thus they serve to stop rational thinking. Often they are used as reasons for not taking action or as arguments against proposals for community involvement. These myths are reported here as principals used them and then openly examined them.

1. The man in the middle. This phrase was brought up, using the same terms, in every site conference. "The principal is the man in the middle with no clear direction and everyone telling him what to do." Upon examination, however, most principals agreed that almost everyone in a leadership role is caught up in this condition. The superintendent, the teacher, the board

member, the parent are also in the middle when they are appealed to by individuals or groups who wish differing courses of action to be taken. When differences occur, people tend to divide over the issues involved, and they naturally seek to influence those who might make a difference in the outcome. Principals felt that they needed to stay detached, not to take sides in issues too quickly, and to be certain that advocates of a position knew that the principal would decide how a given issue would be decided.

2. Community involvement is a shotgun wedding. Most principals who were heading into mandated citizen councils expressed this concern. Those who had citizen councils did not feel a loss of authority or a complication of decision-making ability. Interestingly, the survey data show: 1) principals agreed (67 percent vs 14 percent, with 19 percent ambivalent) that citizen involvement increased commitment and support; 2) they disagreed that it resulted in increased confrontation or in cumbersome decision making; 3) they did not support the view that sharing policy and decision power reduced the authority of the principal (64 percent vs 27 percent, with 9 percent ambivalent).

3. Responsiveness is a one-way street. This myth was also often quoted by principals and discussed at some length in several of the site conferences. As with the "shotgun wedding" myth, the principals who voiced it expressed the view that "if I encouraged it, they (community groups) would run me to death." Another said: "All I do is respond. What I want to know is when do I get to initiate?" However, site conference principals agreed with the results of the random sample survey that citizen involvement has beneficial results in many ways including: direct service to schools through voluntary efforts; increases positive public opinion, a needed element in evaluation of curriculum and programs; creates climates for school improvement; improves student conduct; aids in increasing learner achievement and assists in school-parent cooperation.

4. It's all a matter of PR. Some principals expressed the notion that an image must be created and maintained, that a steady flow of positive reports supporting that image was essential and that "Public relations" activities were the primary ingredients of good school-community relationships. "Find as many exposures as possible to support the school's image." "If you don't win (in athletics), you'll lose community support." "The principal who develops a great program and doesn't attend to PR will get fired first." "The principal has to be a politician, and that means build a public image." Chapter 2 provides an examination of the conditions which disqualify this myth and shows the fundamental issues involved in a consideration of it. Principals documented the changing climates which are described in Chapter 2 and that qualify the conditions under which a PR approach is useful and appropriate. There is yet another point strongly made by principals in the site conferences. It is that no amount of community involvement can make up for a poor program but that community involvement can be instrumental in program improvement actions.

"Myths die hard," was the characterization used by one principal to summarize the group discussion. He had supported the myth of loss of authority due to community involvement. The evidence from this study does not support the myths noted here and others which are related to them.

Role Choices and Possibilities

Principals have an unusual array of role choices, which perhaps accounts for whatever attractiveness there is to this position. Despite all the expressions of concern for the viability of the job, and there certainly are reasons for concern and for continuing the examination of forces eroding the principalship, it remains a position which can be shaped to the principal's desires and

interests. The principalship still can be conceived as a configuration of roles among which the principal may select for himself/herself, delegate to others, emphasize or de-emphasize and to a large extent shape at the principal's own discretion. It is this discretionary authority which offers both freedom and challenge that should be valued and nurtured by principals and by those who seek to enhance the principal's role.

There are at least the roles depicted in the chart below from which the principal may make choices in the way the principalship becomes structured. Effective principals were quite aware of each and were able to identify and discuss how they shaped and assigned them. We have used a content analysis method to glean from tapes and notes the categories, roles, definitions, and activities shown. The chart is provided without a narrative description which would be too lengthy for the purposes of this publication. With only the exception of the personnel developer role, all roles shown in the chart may have direct application to community involvement activities.

ROLE CHOICES FOR THE PRINCIPAL

Role	Definition	Activities (illustrative)
	Headship Function	
Symbolic Head	Routine duties of representing the school	Ceremonial tasks: appearances, meeting guests, presiding
Personnel Developer	Clears assignments, staffing, training, and support of associates	Interpersonal relations and all managerial functions of subordinates
Linkage Agent	Maintains network of outside contacts for information and services to the school	Memberships in community and professional groups, presentations to outside groups
	Communication Function	
Monitor	Collects, organizes, interprets information of wide variety	Surveys parents, reviews records and reports, scans journals
Internal Communication Agent	Communicates to staff selected problems, value positions, information	Selectively reviews studies with staff, circulates reports, conducts seminars, meetings
External Communication Agent	Acts as spokesman of plans, policies, decisions	Serves as representative to boards and councils, reports at public hearings
	Managerial Function	
Planner/organizer	Develops plans, initiates projects, coordinates effort	Develops annual plan, sets priorities
Resource Allocator	Implements plans through human and material resource allocations	Reassigns staff, seeks funds and assistance
Conflict Manager	Negotiates differences, manages disturbances, and handles conflicts	Investigates, adjudicates, plans security
	Leadership Function	
Educational Expert	Provides technical counsel	Gives advice, provides knowledge of accepted practice
Decision Maker	Establishes procedures for processing information in order to take action	Confirms findings, examines alternatives and recommendations, finalizes decisions
Evaluator	Determines effectiveness of programs and personnel	Determines evaluation procedures, supervises data collection, reviews evidence

Strategy Choices and Planning or Assessing Community Involvement

In addition to role choices the principal has many choices involving a strategy for a particular community involvement situation. Specific decision elements to undertake a strategy are already treated in previous chapters. They are: 1) conditions/constraints in Chapters 2 and 5, 2) linkages in Chapter 3, 3) levels of involvement in Chapter 5, and 4) problem areas in Chapter 6. These decision elements are shown in model form in Figure 1.

The model depicts how a principal might generate an involvement strategy or assess one that is already in operation. Conditions/constraints may include community tradition, political considerations, resistance of faculty, community indifference, and the like. These, as Erlandson points out in Chapter 2 and Husen in Chapter 4, condition what might be decided in terms of the specifics of community involvement activities. Three primary variables remain, and these are shown on each face of the cube into which the model is cast. These variables are purpose (why), target population (who), and issue type (what). It can be hypothesized that values attendant to each of these three variables, as limited by the conditions/constraints, are the primary determinants of an involvement strategy.

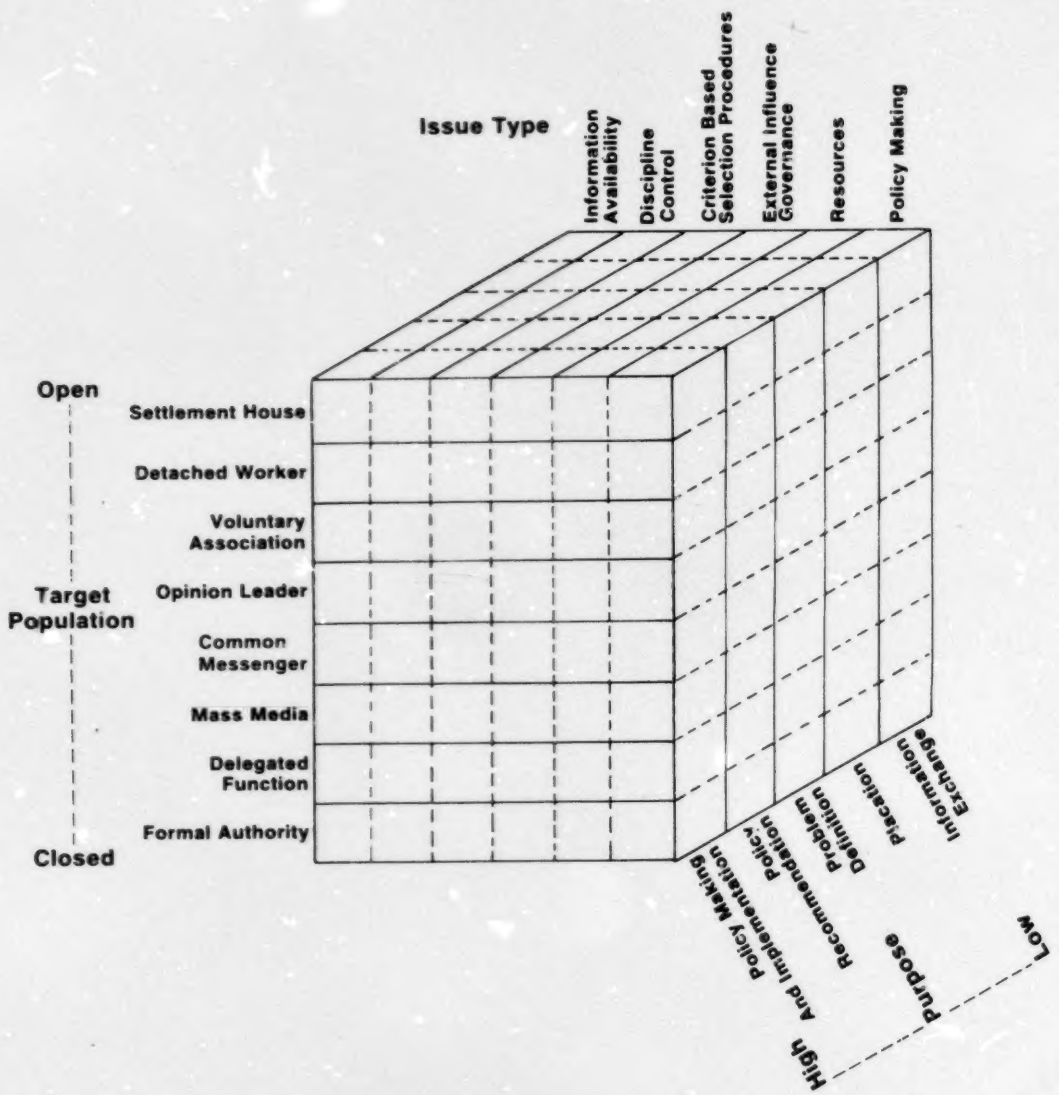
Issue types are shown across the top of the cube and range from informational issues to policy making, suggested by Peterson in Chapter 6. Linkages to target populations are shown across the face of the cube as identified by Giles in a topology of school community linkages, Chapter 3. He placed linkages on a continuum from open to closed. Five levels of involvement as purposes for involving citizens are shown on the side face of the cube. Licata, Chapter 4, places them on a continuum from high to low participation.

The authors propose that the four variables contain the elements that represent the principal ingredients of an involvement strategy. Principals could,

within the conditions/constraints of a given situation, select among the elements in order to plan a community involvement strategy or use the model to assess elements being used and the effects produced by them. Systematic application of the model should assist the principal in making rational choices and assist the principal in exercising influence appropriate to the situation.

Figure 1:

Conditions/Constraints: Tradition, Politics, District Policy, Forces For Change, Problem Intensity



School-Community Relations Activities

Principals were asked to rate the effectiveness of certain school initiated community activities and to suggest others. The resulting list is offered here as a checklist for principals who might wish to review community relations activities of their schools.

Checklist:

Review board/central administration policies concerning community involvement.

Annual school plan--prioritize improvement efforts with citizen input.

Citizens' council with a definite shared governance plan.

Citizen, faculty, administration team to review community involvement needs; assess linkages to groups that may not be reached.

Parent programs geared to needs of differing student groups, including parenting courses.

Citizen volunteer program.

Senior citizen program.

Student Council projects on community involvement, especially those concerned with homes adjacent to the school, and student projects in the community.

Inform persons living near the school of school events.

Survey parents and citizens.

Informal breakfasts, rap sessions, tours of the school.

Community school for adult education and recreation.

PR program coordinated to community needs for information.

Review publication needs and effectiveness of them.

Survey staff memberships in churches, service clubs, etc.

Identify "opinion leaders" through nominations of faculty, citizens' council members, etc.

Identify and make contact with youth-serving groups of the community.

Invite service clubs, ministerial groups, etc., to meet in the school.

Check on mandated councils for compliance, membership, functions.

Review policy regarding student performances and services to community groups.

Review with staff policy for disclosing information and for news releases.

The checklist should be suggestive of steps which might be taken to improve school-community relations. Although the list is imposing it is not exhaustive of the suggestions made by principals judged to be effective in school community involvement

The principal has many choices in shaping his/her role relative to community involvement. There are role choices, strategy choices, and choices of specific activities to be undertaken. With an understanding of the dilemmas and myths and the model and lists provided here the principal may be able to exercise the choices available in order to make the role a more tenable one and at the same time enhance the school's relationships with its community.

Appendix A

Site Conference Participants and Cooperating Professors

NASSP Headquarters, Reston, Virginia

John Allwood, Principal, Lake Braddock High School

Kenneth Colbert, Principal, Loudoun County High School

Paschal Emma, Principal, Montgomery Blair High School

Robert Russell, Principal, Robinson Secondary School

William Sharbaugh, Principal, Washington and Lee High School

Tom Warren, Principal, Richard Montgomery High School

William Parrish, Research Associate, NASSP

Scott Thomson, Executive Director, NASSP

The Ohio State University

Louis Bett, Principal, Marietta High School

Robert Bell, Principal, Midpark High School

David Cavanaugh, Principal, Worthington High School

James Luteran, Principal, Olmsted Falls High School

Charles Pollock, Principal, Northland High School

William Strunk, Principal, Ross High School

Dwayne Wamsley, Principal, Alliance High School

Leslie Duffey, Assistant, Ohio State University

Ray Larmee, Professor, Ohio State University

Joe Licata, Professor, Ohio State University

University of South Florida

Gretta Adams, Principal, Pasco Jr. High School

George Douglas, Principal, Bradenton Middle School

Hugh Kriever, Principal, Pinellas Park Senior High School

University of South Florida (cont.)

Alene Mahin, Principal, Leto Comprehensive High School

Lester Watson, Principal, Avon Park High School

Glen Reynolds, Principal, Lake Gibson Jr. High School

Donovan Peterson, Professor, University of South Florida

Emory Giles, Professor

University of Tennessee

Clint Abbott, Principal, Alcoa High School

Donald Bordinger, Principal, Oak Ridge High School

Willard Brown, Principal, Rule High School

Dale Hughes, Principal, Bradley County High School

Leland Lyon, Principal, Karns High School

Jerry Scott, Principal, Fulton High School

Doc Simpson, Principal, West High School

James Snodgrass, Principal, Webb School of Knoxville

Peter Husen, Professor, University of Tennessee

Texas A & M University

Tony Alvarez, Principal, Burbank High School

Jack Chubb, Principal, Sulphur Springs High School

Glen Connor, Principal, North Zulch High School

Charles Greenwalt, Principal, A & M Consolidated High School

Jacinto Guznman, Principal, Wheatley High School

Maxie Morgan, Principal, Yoe High School

Victor Roper, Principal, Rosebud/Lott High School

David Erlandson, Professor, Texas A & M

University of Utah

Michael Cannon, Principal, Olympus High School

Ivan Cendese, Principal, Valley High School

Robert De Vries, Principal, East High School

Keith Hess, Principal, Cypress High School

LaVar Sorenson, Principal, South High School

Grant Steed, Principal, Clearfield High School

Richard Stevenson, Principal, Davis High School

Fred Worlton, Principal, Alta High School

Betsy Frank, Assistant, U. of U.

Susan Hines, Professor, U. of U.

Lloyd McCleary, Professor, U. of U.